# PREVENTIVE POLICY.

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# PREVENTIVE POLICY:

OR

# THE WORTH OF EACH,

# THE SAFETY OF ALL:

BEING

The Substance of several Discourses on some of the most striking Circumstances in the present Phenomena of the World.

BY THE REV. JOHN MOIR, A. M.

1796 H.

Homo sine religione, sicut equus sine fræno.

VANINUS.

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# PREFACE.

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# PREFACE.

INTELLECTUAL endowments are ſo wiſely diſtributed, that all ſeem perfectly ſatisfied, they poſſeſs, as much more, than enough, as they think, others have leſs. On none of our numerous diſtinctions is greater emphaſis placed, or with the allotments of which, are individuals better pleaſed. Pride in all its fantaſtic ſhapes, its tiſſue of vain conceits, its brood of tireſome inſipidities, its pantomime and etiquette is not the only or worſt conſequence of this ridiculous aſſumption. Every invidious feeling, teſty prejudice, and faſtidious paſſion, which occaſion ſo much interference and irritation, ſpring from the ſame root, and are in cloſe affinity with each other.

This family of arrogance, uſurpation and diſſenſion have long overſpread our earth with

violence, and even brought thoſe principles, which convulſe the world, into habits of private life, and by their means, alienated the mutual regards of neighbours, friends and brothers. It blinds and abuſes us by its ſorceries and miſrepreſentations, by impoſing on us a falſe view of men and things, and by ſubjecting our judgment of both to a vicious and artificial ſtandard. And we habitually commit, the greateſt abſurdities, by ſubmitting to its impulſe, and exchanging candour for temerity, and even our own convictions, for the mandates of cuſtom. From it, faſhion borrows all its imperious preſcriptions, party its caprice, bigotry its intolerance, and pedantry its dogmas.

By the aſcendency, this captious and verſatile family acquires, over the weak and vulgar, ſerioufneſs paſſes for ſtupidity, licentiouſneſs for genius, flippancy for wit, and every thing for taſte and philoſophy, in proportion, as removed from uſeful truth

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and practical piety. But all who ſtimulated by a real intereſt in the welfare of their country and fellow creatures, take an active part, and publiſh what occurs to them, on topics not ſuſceptible of levity, but meriting diſcuſſion, and which, have more to do with facts than fancy, with reaſoning than rhetoric; have the ſame right to proteſt againſt this arbitrary prejudication as priſoners on trial, to challenge the jury who pronounce them innocent or guilty.

Theſe obſervations are ſuggeſted from an apprehenſion that moral productions, not highly ſeaſoned or enlivened with vivacity and humour, are but little ſuited to the general taſte. May not the author preſume, that his ſubject in ſome meaſure compenſates for his deficiency in theſe faſcinating qualities? The preſent criſis of awful expectancy impoſed it upon him. And he is very confident of its perfect efficiency, even now, to all the purpoſes both of civil order and perſonal comfort.

The evidence, nature, neceſſity, and utility of the chriſtian faith, for nearly half a century, amidſt great inconvenience and at no ſmall expence, both of labour and time, he has examined and re-examined, with all the candour and ſolicitude to obtain the beſt information, in his power. Like moſt other ſubjects of human knowledge in ſome parts, probably from our imperfection of intellect, it may ſeem weak, perplexed or doubtful, but on the whole, it bears on human view, with ſuch a luſtre and fullneſs of conviction, as decides forever its validity, challenges enquiry, and puts all detection to defiance.

Worldly intereſt has a powerful effect on all human purſuits. The advantages reſulting from his, contraſted with the loſs to which they actually ſubject him, are at leaſt not much calculated to excite the envy of the proud or covetous. They rivet him to a condition, which gives ſcope to the exerciſe

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of virtues, much ſuperior to his, and bring upon him and all who think as he does, their keeneſt ridicule and deriſion, who miſtake ſophiſtry for reaſon, prejudice for philoſophy, and the paradoxes of blaſphemy for the oracles of truth.

But be it weakneſs, or habit, or affectation, or bigotry, or whatever the origin, nature, or conſequences of this unfaſhionable ſyſtem are, its principles, proviſions, and hopes are ſo deeply and cloſely interwove or twiſted with the ſtrongeſt and deareſt feelings of his heart, that the more he conſiders them, his confidence in their reality is the more firm and decided, their credibility ſeems to him only to gather ſtrength from every freſh attempt to weaken and ſuppreſs it, and their conſequence is ſenſibly heightened by all that is ſaid and written, all he reads or hears to depreciate and traduce them.

The greater acquaintance he gets with the world, with men individually and collectively,

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and with his own frailties, their neceſſity and competency for all the ends of comfort and reform, appear the more palpable and conſpicuous. The older he grows, and the leſs ſupportable his debilities and anxieties become, the duty of realizing by a ſtedfaſt dependance on divine providence, a connection with Him who made him, and which he is certain no mortal event can either interrupt or diſſolve, preſſes upon him with accumulating weight and urgency. And he very heartily deprecates the philoſophy, liberality, as it may be called, or party connection, whatever popularity, it might inſure by aſſimulating his taſte to the preſent rage of novelty and revolution, in creeds as well as kingdoms; that would extort from him any thing like an apology for what he values as the greateſt honour, and has long felt the ſupreme comfort of his life.

His only aim in theſe diſcourſes, is to exhibit the beſt motives he could propoſe for enforcing the duties and decencies of life, to make

make the dictates of reaſon and the ſanctions of religion equally felt in the buſineſs of the world, and to benefit ſociety by the united energies of common ſenſe and ſound piety. He would earneſtly transfuſe this pure and upright ſpirit, into all the ordinary intercourſe, the avocations, and the intereſt, which every where occupy and govern human nature. This he has been long perſuaded is the only infallible method of keeping individuals in temper, and the public unanimous, every one eaſy, and all of one mind.

He regrets his poor labour, has not been ſuperſeded, by thoſe who have more time, and are better qualified to do the ſubject juſtice, and that the ſtate of his health, and other circumſtances in his ſituation, did not permit him to execute his own intentions, more unexceptionably. Notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction occaſioned, and ſome proſpect opened to him of doing good, by the taſk he preſcribed to himſelf, he would gladly have relinquiſhed it, had

had the truths, here ſtated, appeared any where under the ſame arrangement, or brought together under whatever form, with the ſame view.

All animals ſeem frightened at a troubled atmoſphere, and flee to cover or creep to the earth as the tempeſt gathers. And why ſhould not we imitate their example, and be equally provident at this eventful moment. The cloud hangs equally over all our heads, and it is the duty, the wiſdom, and the intereſt of all, by all that can be ſaid or done to break or diſſipate the ſtorm. The danger may be near though apparently diſtant; and no ſituation is ſo ſecure, as to preclude the neceſſity of providing for the worſt.

The ſhock which encounters the brow of the promontory, often diſmantles the vallies. Property is invidious, and frequently expoſes the owners; as in earthquakes the ſtatelieſt manſions occaſion the greateſt ruins. But poverty keeps its victims always wretched. No change

change can better their condition. Whoever rules, they muſt obey. Sedition alſo enſnares, abuſes, and betrays them in a thouſand ſpecious forms. Even when like bears they drop the bandage from their eyes, and burſting their fetters, ſpring upon their maſters, what are they ſtill but tools in the hands of the cruel and crafty, for exterminating the humane and honeſt? And for one who realizes the object which firſt inflamed him, or riots as he hoped, in the ſpoils of benefactors and ſuperiors, thouſands are wantonly ſacrificed, ſolely that their murderers may riſe to infamy and abhorrence on their ſlaughtered carcaſes.

It is therefore a queſtion, deeply intereſting to all good citizens, whether we are not better employed in cheriſhing ſentiments of mutual eſteem, cultivating the virtues of candour and humanity, conciliating the good-nature and indulgence of each other, and fanning in all the gentle gale of kind affection; than in hatching foul ſuſpicion, quarrelling amongſt ourſelves, fomenting diſſatisfaction

tisfaction and animoſity, irritating the angry paſſions, and augmenting private feuds, which, by the leaſt colliſion of jarring intereſts, may ſet the nation in ſuch a blaze, as the preſent generation may never ſee extinguiſhed.

And who would not be proud to co-operate with the great Father of the world, in cauſing all who inhabit one houſe, or one ſociety, to be of one mind; brothers to dwell in unity; and creatures, all liable to the ſame imperfections and misfortunes, and all breathing the ſame ardour after happineſs, not to interfere with the happineſs of others? Such a work muſt ſucceed, whoever are the agents, for it is the work of God, and cannot come to nought.

The number of pious and ſober minds, even in this age of libertiniſm and depravity, accuſtomed to conſider all human events as under the controul of a benign Providence, is ſtill reſpectable. One leading aim of theſe diſcourſes is, to ſtrengthen a principle thus conſolatory to the human heart; to confirm

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and improve a confidence in the Divine government, ſo highly becoming our preſent dependant and precarious condition; and to fortify the minds of the diffident and timid, under every depreſſure, from the ſaddeſt aſpect of human affairs, with the humble hope, that the righteous Ruler of the univerſe ſteadily conſults our ſupreme welfare, even when clouds and darkneſs are round about him.

With theſe views, he ſubmits to the conſideration of the public, a variety of neceſſary truths in popular language, more ſincerely deſirous to impreſs their importance on the hearts of his readers, than ſolicitous about whatever praiſe or blame they may incur. Some little experience of the world has taught him the utter inſignificance of the one, and a long ſeries of ſuffering may well be ſuppoſed to have rendered him callous to the other. And he will care the leſs about either, provided he has the conſolation of thinking the pains he has taken to be uſeful, are not altogether loſt.

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His deſign, however imperfectly executed, has uniformly and ſincerely been, to lend all the aid in his power, to preſerve things as they are; to repreſs, as much as poſſible, that violent propenſity to confuſion and anarchy which ſtill, however ſecretly agitates, the ignorant and deſperate; to conciliate obedience to the laws, and ſtrengthen the arm of authority; to ſoothe and cheer the querulous and peeviſh, encourage the timid and fearful, and diſappoint and undeceive the daring and ill-intentioned; to guard every man's right, by ſhewing that no claims are paramount to juſtice, which are never outraged in any ſituation or ſtate of ſociety with ſafety; and to eſtabliſh the ſecurity of property on the only baſe, competent to the weight and magnitude of ſuch a vaſt and intereſting column, by engaging all in its defence, and impreſſing on the public mind, this great truth, that life is no longer valuable to any, than while every one is protected, and continues in the ſure and peaceable poſſeſſion of his own.

*Newington Place,*
*March* 28, 1796.

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NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Theſe laſt are chiefly taken from *Lord Aukland, the preſent Biſhop of London, Lord Bacon, Mr. Burke, Mr. Summeraz, and the Biſhop of Landaff.*

# DISCOURSE FIRST.

## THE AGE WE LIVE IN.

*Popular vice repreſſed by concurrent circumſtances—Complexion of the times—By whom and for what praiſed—The topics urged in their defence expoſed—Mr. Burke quoted.*

THE times have long been the cant of falſe patriots in politics, knaves in morals and hypocrites in religion. Every age is notwithſtanding diſtinguiſhed by its own peculiar modes, impoſed for the moſt part, by the taſte and aſcendency of ſuch as take a lead in the arbitrary habits of cultivated life. But theſe we ſeldom or never find in any degree of accordance with the dictates of unadulterated nature, ſimplicity and innocence.

Indeed the benign care of divine providence in managing the affairs of the world, is made eminently conſpicuous by

nothing more, than that univerſal and palpable depravity, which ſo foully debaſes our ſpecies, equally in public and private. To this vicious bias in human nature and ſociety, has been uniformly raiſed up and oppoſed from the beginning, as an impenetrable phalanx, a vaſt body of holy and intrepid prieſts, patriarchs, prophets, philoſophers, poets, preachers, and martyrs!

So wiſely is it ordered, that here, as in moſt other caſes, wherever the malady is found, the remedy is at hand. And ſuch is the coincidence between the immoralities of particular periods and countries, and the talents which have always expoſed and branded them with infamy, that it ought to be marked, as an honourable teſtimony to his inviſible but unremitting vigilance, who is Father and Director of all. In the bold robuſt magnanimous qualities which gave a colour ſo auſtere and forbidding to the temper of Polycarp, Athanaſius, Luther, Wickliff, Latimer and other reformers, we perceive the diſcriminating traits of the age that produced them, and the

the vices they combated. Whatever was ſtern, implacable, or unaccommodating in theſe ſtrong enlightened minds, raiſed by local and proximate contagion, took an open, decided, and ſteady part in behalf of goodneſs and the deareſt intereſts of mankind. The ſcene they occupied made them what they were: excited, expanded, and brought forward the feelings and faculties it created.

Thus it is in morals as in nature, the very elements of which, are the ordinary means of reſcuing her agencies and powers from corruption, debility, or inaction. And as well may we traduce and revile the regular operations of thoſe principles, which the natural fabric of things render ſo indiſpenſable, as the diſciples of virtue, when inſtigated by the impudence and domineering rage of vice, they aſſume the unpopular functions, and uſe the indignant language of her friends.

This illuſtrious roll of ſtrenuous advocates for purity and right, in theory and practice, may ſuffer occaſionally by the in-

truſion and aſſumption of mere pretenders. But is there any avocation, trade, profeſſion, or claſs among the various orders of the great maſs of the ſpecies, not liable to ſimilar impoſture? Are the honeſt and ſincere among theſe leſs ſucceſsful, leſs eſteemable, or leſs reſpected for this inconvenience? Why ſhould the votaries of order, uprightneſs, and genuine piety be aſhamed of their trueſt dignity, or bluſh for a preference of truth and goodneſs, becauſe hypocrites and diſſemblers bring on them and their cauſe, the obloquy of the world? All who find themſelves impelled by a ſenſe of duty, to ſtand forth in defence of what coſt much of the beſt blood of the country, and dragged many of our forefathers to the ſcaffold, cannot but be ſenſible, that the heart is not eaſily torn from its hope, or diverted from its purpoſe, by ſurmiſes of levity, or ſallies of wit.

Of the age we live in, great and illuſtrious are the merits and virtues; and far be

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it from me, to decry or diminiſh them. It is eminently grateful to recount the bleſſings we enjoy from the preſent cultivated ſtate of ſociety, our improvements in philoſophy and ſcience, our acquiſitions in literature and all the elegant and uſeful arts, the liberal diffuſion of knowledge, the general diſtribution of property, the prevailing refinement of national taſte, and the univerſal urbanity of manners. The trophies and pageantry of luxury were never more manifold and expenſive, more voluminous and ſplendid, or exhibited with greater delicacy or in higher beauty. Allowing for the eccentricities of humour, the caprice of faſhion, and the imperious deciſions of habit, much ſimplicity and decency are obſervable in the decorations and carriage of all ranks. No coſt is ſpared on the education of our youth, for inſuring their health, and endowing them, with every accompliſhment which can render them genteel, acceptable, and provident. A laudable ſpirit of induſtry animates our mer-

chants, manufacturers, and the whole commercial world. Trade flouriſhes in all our ports; agriculture is encouraged; and but for unfruitful ſeaſons and artificial dealing, would fill our mouths with plenty and our hearts with gratitude. Our public men, both in church and ſtate, in all our municipal functions and learned profeſſions, are conſpicuous for talent and influence. The whole mechaniſm of our complicated eſtabliſhment is yet active in all its orders, and the great maſs of the people loyal. The laws of the land, as far as underſtood, are univerſally reſpected, faithfully executed, and readily obeyed.

That humanity ſo honourable to our countrymen, and which has long adorned this happy iſland, has ſhone forth of late with more than ordinary luſtre. The foundations, infirmaries and hoſpitals, eſtabliſhed among us for the comfort and accommodation of the needy, the diſeaſed, the lame, the blind, the worn-out veterans who fight our battles by ſea and land,

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and ſuch as are ſunk in the moſt deplorable of all human calamities, want of reaſon, are ſo many venerable and magnificent memorials of national bounty!

This is a feature of the public character, which renders it intereſting and reſpectable in every corner of the globe. How amiable and affecting the kindred influence it ſheds on the hearts and conduct of individuals! In all the walks of private life, among the ſuperior and middle orders of the community, what a goodly number of both ſexes might be pointed out, who make it their habitual care to explore the haunts of diſtreſs; for enlightening thoſe who ſit in darkneſs; giving ſtrength to the weary, and healing the broken in heart. Theſe holy almoners for God, and beſt vicegerents of the divinity on earth, like ſo many good angels, are never ſo happy as in miniſtering to the miſerable, delivering meſſages of mercy, and diffuſing joy amidſt the abodes of deſpair. To the great family of misfortune, in all its melancholy receſſes and branches, their benign pre-

ſence is often as cheering as ſight to the blind, and life to the dead. And were the great and opulent only ſenſible how highly acceptable their viſits are to all beneath them, or dependent on them, and what exquiſite ſenſations of gratitude and complacency, ſuch a condeſcenſion invariably excites in humble and ſuſceptible minds, the practice would become faſhionable even from motives of ſelf-indulgence.

This is one ſide of the picture; and ſo fair, ſo rich, ſo charming, that every friend to his country and to mankind muſt pauſe and gaze on it with ecſtacy and triumph! Who does not wiſh ſo fine a proſpect may never cloſe, and that theſe patriotic diſtinctions may continue to brace and adorn our iſland, while its name is known and conſequence felt among the nations?

But alas! is not the reverſe crouded by figures equally deformed and deplorable? What then becomes of the maxim, "human "nature is always the ſame?" We allow its appetites, paſſions, and habits to be exerted on

on ſimilar objects, uniformly in a ſimilar manner. And all the diverſity it occaſionally exhibits in its ſocial and complicated movements and ſhapes, may be traced, for the moſt part, to climate, education, policy, or accident. From theſe concurrent cauſes, circumſtances often ariſe peculiarly inauſpicious to whatever is moſt amiable and praiſe worthy in our race. And he is a bold man, or a man of ſingular taſte indeed, who prefers the preſent to any one preceding age in our hiſtory, either for its individual or aggregate merit.

Is not the whole fabric of public and private life actually ſhook to its baſis, by the demons of anarchy, apprehenſion, uneaſineſs, party animoſity, and want of mutual confidence? All ſeparate bodies of men, the various ranks, claſſes, profeſſions, and even trades, in ſociety, regard the claims and pretenſions of each other with immoderate jealouſy and diſlike. The numerous relations and ties which bind them together, render the community at unity in herſelf, and conſtitute her beauty, ſtrength

ſtrength and ſtability; are univerſally and obviouſly ſlackened. The ſeeds of mutual diſſenſion and averſion to all our political forms and regulations, hitherto regarded with veneration for their antiquity and utility, ſeem deeply rooted in the minds both of cotemporaries and the riſing generation. And we look almoſt every where in vain, for the many ſplendid and noble virtues of perſonal honour, official fidelity, diſintereſted friendſhip, unequivocal patriotiſm, unanimity, and general love of order which formerly characterized us; in which we boaſted, and by which we were known and diſtinguiſhed.

Inſtead of theſe, who is not ſhocked on the right hand and the left, with an affected contempt for every thing ſerious and ſacred, which more or leſs runs through the converſation and tinctures the manners of all; impatience under the ſtrongeſt obligations of candour, gratitude, and veracity; diſſatisfaction, with contingent circumſtances; a violent propenſity for innovation in church and ſtate; a black ſuſpicion

cion that no ſuch thing as honeſty, principle, or conſcience exiſts in the world, which conſcious profligacy, of the groſſeſt deſcription only, could ſuggeſt; a ſlaviſh deference for all the ſeries of impoſtures and diſtortions, which mark the triumphant caprice of faſhion; a faſtidious delicacy in the predilections of taſte; a conſtant and common ſacrifice of health, happineſs, decency, duty and credit, merely to keep up appearance, or what is called *living in ſtile*; unbounded prodigality in purſuit of indulgence, and a ſordid eagerneſs in the acquiſition of gain?

Have we not now peculiar reaſon to regret and deprecate the confuſion and ſuffering, to which the intrigues of faction and the diſtraction of the public mind ſo inevitably expoſe us; the burdens we bear, and the anguiſh we feel? Does not worth pine in obſcurity, and folly flouriſh in ſunſhine? Are not many ſad who ought to be glad, and many glad who ought to be ſad? Is it not a ſpectacle of extreme affliction to ſee ſo much wrong and ſo little right;

innocence

innocence in chains, and guilt in triumph; goodneſs depreſſed by want, and wickedneſs wallowing in luxury; men of the world gorged with ſuperfluity, and men of piety victims of famine; the beſt ſtript of their all by the worſt; our ſweeteſt pleaſures imbittered, and our pureſt purſuits blighted by diſappointment and outrage, and the whole promiſcuous maſs of human life writhing with agony or abſorbed in deſpair?

Add to all this, the preſent *reeling of the nations*, as ſcripture emphatically calls it, which even now mangles the face of the earth with horror and outrage, *cleanneſs of teeth*, which, at the ſame time, *ſmites* the greateſt part of the habitual globe: abroad wars and rumours of wars, and at home ſedition ſtalking with gigantic ſtrides even in our ſtreets, and at noon day! authority menaced under pretext of oppreſſion, and the very life of our amiable ſovereign openly aſſaulted in the exerciſe of his moſt popular prerogative; law incompetent to the exigence of the ſtate; many of the lower orders

orders abandoning the quiet precincts of induſtry, inflamed, and ruſhing in prodigious multitudes to the fields, at the call of political machination! a nobility confounded and aghaſt, a luxurious enervated gentry, a ſtarving and turbulent poor!

Theſe facts, ſtrange and palpable as they are, have yet their limitation. Every one's experience happily ſuggeſts variety of inſtances, to which, they will not apply. And it is a juſt and natural inference, if the petty circle of individual acquaintance furniſh ſo many exemplary exceptions, the general average of national worth, muſt ſtill be a rational ſource of patriotic exultation.

Let not then the innocent and guilty be indiſcriminately condemned in one devoted maſs. And it were unpardonable to omit this opportunity of declaring, that amidſt a depravity, thus deep and univerſal, it contributes highly to my comfort and my pride, that all my beſt friends rank among the beſt

beſt of their countrymen; and that though they ſhine but as *lights in a dark place*, the ſhadows which ſurround them, have not diminiſhed but improved their luſtre.

Moſt people of ſceptical principles and low paſſions, are often forward to ſhew a mighty partiality for the times. It is an oblique cenſure on all who differ from them in opinion, ſerves as a cover to what might otherwiſe ſubject them to obloquy, and may even paſs with minds like their own, for liberality of ſentiment. Perhaps no age but the preſent could have tolerated ſuch miſchievous notions, or connived with the flagitious tendency of the paradoxical tenets, in which they confide and exult. There ſeems, at leaſt, a palpable coincidence between the wantonneſs and ſophiſtry of this faſhionable ſchool, and our preſent general relaxation of manners. And we ſeldom detect one of theſe very ſage enlightened miſſionaries diſſeminating the poiſon of their ſects and clubs, without having reaſon to ſuſpect, that he is chiefly anxious

anxious to apologize for who he is, and would juſtify in the hearing of others what he knows himſelf to be, that all his innovating propenſities originate in the conſciouſneſs that he has every thing to gain, and nothing to loſe; that the unequivocal drift of his levelling creed is to get above all who are now above him, and be with impunity a principal in ſuch foul tranſactions, as he cannot at preſent be acceſſary to, but at the riſque of his neck; and that whenever he defends the times, or lampoons ſuch as ſeriouſly deplore their degeneracy, he means only to puff and proclaim the part himſelf and aſſociates act in them, their perfect accordance with his habits and inclinations, as the better they grow the worſe he will be thought, and the more he will loſe; and like the Iriſhman with his maſter's clothes, he takes a fancy to them merely becauſe they fit him, becauſe he contributes to make them what he would have them to be, and becauſe he could no where ſo well accommodate himſelf.

With

With men of this faſtidious humour it is not eaſy to be ſerious. The abſurdity of their conduct, but for the guilt it implicates, is a natural object of deriſion; and they are generally in the mood to be merry in proportion to the gravity and importance of the ſubject. For levity and libertiniſm are common aſſociates. And whatever is advanced on the moſt intereſting topics, their abettors have the happy knack of applying facetiouſly in their own favour. If ever they admit that we are obviouſly ſunk in our moral and political character, and that, in the eyes of other nations, we have but little honour and leſs capacity, it is always with the exception of their own faction, of whom they never ſpeak but in the ſame flat and ſickening terms of fawning adulation, and in whom they are always prepared to point out every excellence of every deſcription.

The prophaneneſs and immorality, of which ſo many now complain, they generouſly impute to puritaniſm or meanneſs of ſpirit,

ſpirits, and even conſider as gleams of comfort and ſources of peculiar ſatisfaction, indicating, in their opinion, openneſs of mind and generoſity of conduct, the rapid progreſs of intellectual improvement, and a ſpeedy diſſolution of all the ligaments of ſociety.

To this deſirable millenium, or happy ſtate of things, they artfully conſtrue every appearance. Revolution is their hobby-horſe, which they ride with as much ſtatelineſs, though leſs reaſon and moderation, than ever Don Quixotte did his Roſinante. With ſuch an Utopia in their heads and hearts, like him, they are always in queſt of adventures, which, to their bitter diſappointment, are ſeldom more rational and generally as luckleſs as his were.

Nothing pleaſes them better than that ſelfiſh and ferocious appetence, which ripens and prepares mankind for every enterprize, which promiſes to compenſate ſedition and glut rapacity, to render them venal and ſordid, to bring them as openly

and indiſcriminately to market as all other beaſts of burthen, and by theſe dexterous manœuvres to make the ſervile trade of corruption, with every foul and baſe practice, as popular as ever it was odious.

This of all other political hereſies, ſo much in faſhion among theſe Demagogues of anarchy, ſuits them beſt, as moſt conſonant to their wants and wiſhes. It confounds the eſſential difference of things, and levels humanity as well as libels it, by leaving no diſtinction between good and evil, ability and impotence, wiſdom and folly, honour and perfidy. It teaches to act and ſpeak on all occaſions, not becauſe it is fit or right, but becauſe it is intereſting or lucrative. And, whatever other pretexts may be held out, it is, in fact, the common centre about which all the abettors of change and innovation are accuſtomed to muſter.

That extreme licentiouſneſs, which wantons ſo extravagantly in the abſence of all that is honourable and decorous in public and

and private life, they ſtimulate and inflame by extolling with much indecency and intemperance, as a deciſive concluſion, to what they are pleaſed to call, the reign of ſuperſtition and prieſtcraft.

Indeed, their averſions to whatever is ſacred and orderly ſeem ſo implacable and deep-rooted, that they actually indulge a ſort of rancorous antipathy to every thing in canonicals. They affect to be infidels, not from any doubts really occuring to inquiſitive minds, in ſearch of truth, for they, who never think, never doubt, but from a mean ſurrender of their judgements to the deſpotiſm of faſhion, from a petulant propenſity to join the vulgar cry againſt church and churchmen, and chiefly, perhaps, from termagancy of paſſion, which they miſtake for liberty of thought.

Moſt men, perhaps, are bunglers out of their own profeſſion, but theſe poor, bewitched, unhappy creatures labour under the melancholy madneſs of always ſneering moſt, where they underſtand leaſt; for no

other end but to betray their ignorance in what they wiſh, to be deemed knowing, or to ſhew their teeth though they cannot bite. They boaſt a very odd faculty of aſſailing the beſt cauſe and inſulting the higheſt characters, not with more wit than decency, but with ſingular boldneſs of face and a vulgar foulneſs of mouth.

There is not a ſurer way of currying favour with theſe popular teachers of ſtrange doctrine, their incendiaries, or their clubs, than by ſpouting blaſphemy, libelling church and ſtate, traducing biſhops and magiſtrates, ſcouting all ſerious regards as childiſh or hypocritical, and treating, with marked and deliberate contempt, whoever would be thought to act from principle or a ſenſe of duty.

Having thus endeavoured to hector and lampoon us out of whatever we value or believe, they would ſeduce us alſo, to take a laſt farewel of all the virtues, to renounce both our credit and our creed, and, repreſenting religion as the mother of ignorance

and

and barbarity, gravely ſend us to the ſchool of atheiſm and ſedition to learn politeneſs and good manners.

But whatever conceits theſe gentlemen indulge for their own conſolation and that of their promiſing fraternities, what was ſaid of the country early in the preſent reign, by an author ſtill alive and of the higheſt reſpectability for genius, taſte, and celebrity, is now more than ever perfectly verified. "That government is at once dreaded and "contemned; that the laws are deſpoiled of "all their reſpected and ſalutary terrors; "that their inaction is a ſubject of ridi-"cule, and their exertion of abhorrence; "that rank, and office, and title, and all "the ſolemn plauſibilities of the world, "have loſt their reverence and effect; that "our foreign politics are as much deranged "as our domeſtic economy; that our de-"pendencies are ſlackened in their affec-"tion, and looſened from their obedience; "that we know neither how to yield nor "how to inforce; that hardly any thing "above or below, abroad or at home, is

" ſound and entire; but that diſconnexion
" and confuſion, in offices, in parties, in
" families, in parliament, in the nation,
" prevail beyond the diſorders of any for-
" mer times; theſe are facts univerſally
" admitted and lamented."

# DISCOURSE SECOND.

## CAUSES OF PREVAILING IMMORALITY.

*Education—Scepticiſm—Religious ſectaries—Preſent circumſtances.*

POLITICIANS often treat irregularities incident to ſociety, as phyſicians do maladies of the human body; and overlooking obvious and immediate cauſes, ſeek for the origin of them, in ſomething vaſtly myſterious and profound; miſtaking, as Lord Bolingbroke ſays, "that which is "wonderfully dark, for what is wonder-"fully deep."

Thus whatever tarniſhes civil order or mars domeſtic harmony, popular diſcontent or perſonal embarraſſment; caballing or diſſenſion among the rich and great; among the poor and dependent ſoreneſs and contumacy under the checks of authority, private ſuffering and public diſtraction, the

church in contempt and the ſtate in a ferment; for the moſt part and by moſt men are ſeriouſly reſolved into machinations of faction, tergiverſation in politics, evolutions of party, laws ill adapted or ill executed, national proſperity or adverſity, bad miniſters, raſh meaſures, corrupt majorities, ſecret influence and official venality.

Theſe are doubtleſs, ſerious and great evils, and wherever they abound, capable of producing others at leaſt equally ſerious and great; but certainly do not wholly account for the want of that magnanimity and large patriotic views which in times paſt, inſpired the genius of the country, that dignity and expanſion of mind which gave union and energy to all her movements, and that ſincerity and good faith in private tranſaction, which proved the firmeſt baſis of public confidence and inteſtine peace.

We may ſurely trace, from variety of ſources, more within the reach of common obſervation, that general diſſatisfaction which ſcowls ſo ominous in the preſent

ſent aſpect of ſociety; that foul torrent of virulence and abuſe which falls on every thing great and ſacred in her beſt inſtitutions; that hazard to which all that is moſt valuable in life is actually put, by the tenets now afloat; that ſettled obloquy which clouds the tract and defeats the ſtruggle of every honeſt mind, that callous and repulſive antipathy by which it is ſo much the faſhion to regard the unfortunate; the criterion which meaſures every one not by worth but wealth; the taſte to which extrinſic, not perſonal qualities are moſt acceptable; the intercourſe where nothing is under reſtraint but the heart; the connexion which aims only at mutual convenience; the friendſhip which has no tie but intereſt.

## *EDUCATION.*

Not a little of this tremendous miſchief may be attributed perhaps to the preſent caſt of modiſh education, the ſole aim of which

which is vanity, intereſt, or ambition. It preſcribes, commands and inculcates nothing, but as palpably facilitating one or other of theſe views. The very motives for the beſt actions, it often draws from the worſt topics. And children are excited to be wiſe and virtuous, not becauſe they cannot otherwiſe be happy and uſeful, but becauſe no other means can make them popular or ſucceſsful.

For what reaſon are the great and intereſting articles of faith, ſo ſedulouſly kept back from the notice of the riſing generation? Why is modern tuition ſo generally conducted without any deference to purity of mind and rectitude of principle? Why are children now taught every art and ſcience, but how to preſerve an unblemiſhed reputation and lead an honeſt life?

It is only by leſſons of this complexion and tendency they can ever be induced to be diligent and good, to put a proper value on their faculties and opportunities of improvement, to reſiſt the ſeductions of

ſenſual

ſenſual indulgence, and to appreciate with ſufficient accuracy of diſcernment, all thoſe fugitive and ſordid illuſions which, like the putrid effluvia of ſtagnant water and morbid bodies, every where ſurround and aſſail them.

To all the various avocations in ſociety, men for the moſt part are regularly bred. Not only for learned profeſſions, but every line of life, from the meaneſt handicraft to the higheſt office in ſtate, ſome degree of training and tutelage is thought indiſpenſible. Without the ſervitude of a formal apprenticeſhip, few expect to get a livelihood from any trade or calling. Yet thoſe diſpoſitions of mind and habits of conduct which are the ſtamina of all utility and worth, we commonly abandon to chance and accident.

Fooliſh and inconſiderate parents, how ſtrange the obligations you confer upon your offſpring! About their fortune and ſucceſs in their ſeveral ſituations and purſuits you can be abundantly anxious, but care not how they are qualified to pleaſe God

God and do their duty. You would have them rich, and great, and honourable, but little conſult how they may beſt become virtuous and happy, capable of ſpending their lives well, bearing their ſufferings patiently, and cheerfully ſubmitting to the orders of providence.

Whence all this faſtidious ſhyneſs and delicacy in rearing youth, without leading them through all the graceful decencies of a manly and rational piety! Are you afraid of making them wiſe and good too ſoon, of announcing them too early as pledges to the world for the purity of their future conduct, of imprinting on their ductile minds at too tender an age the deepeſt ſenſe of moral reſponſibility, and of eagerly embracing the firſt opportunity to inſure their intereſt in the affection and good will of the wiſeſt and beſt, and make them objects of reſpect and veneration to the worſt?

Nothing can better direct you as guardians of the riſing generation, and truſtees for poſterity in what you owe to your tender

der charge, than a frequent and accurate review of yourſelves, the principles which regulate your temper, and the motives which form and govern your manners. You are individually and ſolemnly bound by every poſſible tie, to detach and wean their raſh and ſanguine partialities, from purſuits which have degraded your faculties, from ſcenes which have prematurely anticipated your paſſions, from temptations which have ſubdued your integrity, from profeſſions which have abuſed your credulity, from ſentiments which have left you a prey to perfidy, from books, companions, ſpectacles, and all the pageantry of falſe pleaſure which entangle, depreſs, and impair your rational and moral natures!

Do you feel every day and every hour the pernicious conſequence of trifling with the quiet, the convenience and the comfort of each other, with the peace of your own minds, with that harmony of concord which conſtitutes the ſupreme felicity of earth and heaven! And can you ſuffer thoſe little ones, who are formed by what you

you are, and have no rule or directory but what they gather from your conduct and commands, to imbibe and cheriſh the ſeeds of a diſpoſition thus deſultory and turbulent!

An unruly, ill-ſorted, empty, inflated and diſorderly ſtate of mind, is at the bottom of almoſt every evil which betides humanity; the ſource of idleneſs and inſignificance in the victims of confuſion and laſſitude; the eſſence of that procraſtination which reſults from inattention to arrangement, miſapplying talents, and miſtiming duty; and the fertile origin of ſelf-condemnation and malevolent judgment; prompting to injure without provocation, and provocation without injury; treating matters of tranſcendent importance as of none, and the mereſt trifles as of the very higheſt; rendering irritable and irritating, and actually perverting the kindeſt intentions of nature in all the bleſſings we either expect or enjoy!

Creatures thus faſhioned and plunged into action without habits of ſerious conſi-

deration,

ſideration, ſolid and deliberate thought, a ſtrong predilection for order and regularity, punctuality, veracity and honour in all the interchanges of civility, and an inflexible adherence to truth, nature and propriety in whatever they do or ſay, muſt occaſion incredible diſtraction and miſery.

Indeed, all that is falſe, and baſe, and contemptible, in public and private, is the obvious and inevitable effect of this teſty, unthinking, frivolous turn of mind. With whatever appendages of fortune, faſhion, gaiety, youth, beauty, or wit, we may ſometimes ſee it flaſhing, in circles of diſſipation, ſcenes of gallantry, and places of promiſcuous reſort, feſtivity or intrigue, it is an infallible badge of inſignificance, of folly, or of guilt. It wants the coolneſs of reflection, the generoſity of ſentiment, the reſerve of decency, the attention of wiſdom, and the nerve of virtue. It has neither vigour, ſincerity, nor reſolution. It conciliates one moment by kindneſs, and by unkindneſs kills another. Its tranſitions, like the variable temperature of our climate,

climate, are too ſudden to be acceptable, and too much in extremes to be ſafe. Now it abounds in all that can melt and charm the affections; is tender, open, fond, accommodating; but ſoon chills to the heart by its diſtance, its cloſeneſs, its frigidity, or its averſion!

What can be expected from minds for ever in a flutter or a ferment, alternately victims of levity which admits of no check, and paſſions which ſubmit to no controul, but peeviſhneſs, apathy, inconſtancy of affection, capricious preferences, and incorrigible hearts? And it is nonſenſe to look for the uſual effects from a mechaniſm thus univerſally deranged. Can the ſcenes we habitually witneſs be other than deformed, while occupied by ſuch actors? Is it any wonder to ſee men wicked and wretched whoſe infancy is thus miſled? Why in any degree ſurpriſed at ſocial depravity, while we every where behold ſo little attention beſtowed on the firſt indications of human intellect; or that life made up of ſuch empty, undiſciplined, unmanageable creatures,

creatures, ſhould be found a chaos of ſo much guilt and miſery as it is.

## *SCEPTICISM.*

Sceptical opinions are the natural reſult of a looſe education. The mind, like the body, not properly braced, is obnoxious to much external injury. Both derive irreparable damage from the reception of whatever is deleterious to every ſpecies and degree of health and improvement. Not early ſeaſoned by ſound principles and faſhioned by ſerious impreſſions while young and docile, we are little likely to improve, or reform, as we proceed through the ſubſequent ſtages of life, grow up among cotemporaries no better tutored and diſciplined than ourſelves, or plunge unprepared and unprotected in the world at large, which is oftener a ſink of vice than a ſchool of virtue.

Many writers, and ſome of acknowledged eminence, have proſtituted their

fine talents in accelerating the propagation of theſe laſcivious and deſtructive tenets. By adorning falſe reaſoning with all the brilliancy of genius and all the poliſh of taſte, the public are duped with their ſophiſtry; and like jugglers, they even chuckle at the ſucceſs of their own ſpells. Their pupils not aware of incurring the contempt, in proportion as they credit the doctrines of their teachers, diffuſe and urge them with an induſtry and zeal, worthy of a better cauſe. The baneful mania of ſcepticiſm is at laſt become the epedemic diſeaſe of our countrymen, to ſuch a melancholy degree, ſo foully tainted the whole fountain and maſs of our literature, and inſinuated itſelf with ſo much refinement and ſubtilty into all its details, that almoſt every periodical publication and diurnal print in the kingdom, which are now the oracles of the populace, are alſo proud to be its vehicles, and trumpet its praiſe. And multitudes, who can neither read nor write, rank among its votaries, and ſometimes

times its agents, or even its preachers and apoſtles.

The leaders of this faſtidious party, rather quibble and laugh us out of the creed and practice of our forefathers, than ſeriouſly reject it themſelves. They ſupply the loſs of it, at leaſt, by nothing of any uſe, or which, in caſes of neceſſity or emergency, can yield them either aſſiſtance or comfort. All they believe, all they know, and all they hope combined, enable them not to look futurity in the face with the leaſt aſſurance. Some of them, even fortified by all the proviſions and reſources of the beſt cultivated underſtandings, ſo far from meeting the diſaſters of life with magnanimity, can hardly truſt themſelves in the dark! They flout at the fears, ſuggeſted by religion, yet ſhudder at the horrors created by her abſence. They treat her as pettiſh children do their nurſes, affect to be mightily out of humour with her preſence, but cry, the moment ſhe leaves them.

Perhaps, this miſerable deluſion originates, more in the affections than the underſtanding, as this faculty, in moſt of theſe pert and noiſy gentlemen, is well known to be ſufficiently ſhallow. And were it not that the minds of their aſſociates and clubs are moſtly on a level with their own, little need be feared from all their mightieſt achievements, which only conſiſt of a few ſtale jokes clumſily put, vulgar cavils, and coarſe ſophiſms, as diſparaging to taſte as to truth. Incompetent or not, deigning to examine the evidence, or peruſe the ſtatements, in favor of what they would explode, their exceptions are mere plagiariſm, and their arguments dull tautology.

Were theſe men unblemiſhed in their lives, unaſſuming in their tempers, accommodating in their manners, and ſincere in practiſing what they profeſs; though we might lament their error, we could not help lamenting their misfortune. But all who know the world cannot help obſerving, that the moſt invincibly ſtupid and profligate

gate among the loweſt and middle ranks of ſociety, are uniformly moſt prompt and forward in renouncing chriſtianity, and vilifying her friends. What in truth can be more natural, than that all, who ſuffer by the purity of her precepts ſhould ſpurn at her authority; and that they who would have a licence for their worſt paſſions, endeavour to get rid of what indulges none but the beſt?

They are, by far the moſt troubleſome in this buſy miſchievous circle, who pique themſelves on a talent for wit. By the juſt economy of providence their meaſure of intellect is ſeldom extraordinary, but their application of what they have, is as often prepoſterous, and in few caſes either creditable to themſelves, or profitable to others. They abuſe it to lampoon the ſerious and wiſe, to frighten the timid, and ſhake the firm, and to load with deriſion and obloquy, whatever has hitherto excited veneration or attracted eſteem. All in any degree eminent for the beſt qualities of the heart, they treat with ig-

nominy and reproach, knock them down indiſcriminately, roundly tax them with hypocriſy, and boldly nominate their humility meanneſs, their ſtedfaſtneſs obſtinacy, their patience apathy, and their gravity preciſion.

Theſe concluſions are formed not on fiction, but facts, which every where obtrude themſelves on common obſervation, and accord with daily experience. And muſt not a generation thus debaſed and diſſolute be eminently dangerous to all who live in it; and eſpecially young unwary thoughtleſs creatures, who, in general are good-natured without reſolution, complaiſant without ſervility, candid without diſcrimination; and eager to raiſe fortunes and acquire reputation without weighing the means or counting the coſt?

Times thus flagitious and derogatory to all moſt dear and reſpectable in our common nature, are more incompatible with the ſafety of our higheſt intereſts, than hurricanes, earthquakes, the plague, the yellow fever, war, famine, or even the formal

mal repeal of *Magna Charta* and the *Bill of Rights!* Who would not rejoice to ſee the ſame ſplendid abilities ſo often and wonderfully exerted in ſupport of the latter, equally rouſed, and earneſt to defeat the contagion of the former. Every manly upright mind, however, who values as he ought, the beſt privileges of our nature, of morality and of ſociety, would rather our Britiſh youth were conſigned for ever to the moſt abject ſlavery, than enter on life amidſt the havock and rage of ſuch an inveterate influenza.

*EXAMPLE.*

All the glowing conceptions of the richeſt imagination are poor compared with the real view of a good life. Of this lovely original, according to Plato's ſublime idea, the very image, could it be made viſible, is ſufficient to charm and govern all mankind. The head of a family thus diſtinguiſhed by every thing amiable,

wiſe, and benign, as the friend, the guide, the comforter of the whole, muſt be the moſt intereſting and uſeful ſight on earth. His children and domeſtics inſenſibly copy his virtues, are transformed into his likeneſs, become by degrees what he is, and individually ſhed on all around them the ſame pleaſing conſpicuous luſtre he does.

Folly and vice are unſtable and temporary, but truth and goodneſs, like their divine author, never change and never die. The beauteous and commanding habits of true worth, what every good man ſolicitouſly diſcloſes and inculcates in all the relations of life; have the happieſt influence on all beholders, who are near him, about him, or under him; excite their livelieſt emulation, expand, improve, and captivate their hearts! From a conſtant obſervation of him in every ſituation, they ſee and are ſtruck with what they ſhould be. He exhibits daily the moſt rare, the moſt delightful, and the moſt ineſtimable of all domeſtic pictures; a lively tranſcript of living and active virtue, enriched by traits of

of innocent gaiety, unſhaken fortitude, and genuine honour. It is a family piece, and though, with very few illuſtrious examples, ſeldom found in the galleries of the great, or the cabinets of the curious; often gives comelineſs and grace to the homelieſt cottage; and the houſe which has it not, however rich, ſplendid, powerful, ſpacious, or magnificent, is incapable of real ornament or grandeur; no proſperity can raiſe it to happineſs, no care render it ſafe, no deed of right, conſanguinity, or ſettlement inſure it from infamy!

For ſcenes utterly unlike, and grouped with actors perfectly diſſimilar, we need not have recourſe to fable or romance. Look at a vaſt majority of the great and faſhionable, young and giddy of both ſexes, who are called people of fortune and large property, parents, houſekeepers, maſters, teachers, and all in any meaſure or reſpect, objects of deference and imitation. The lives of theſe, though we knew nothing more of the world, might well ſhew us what it is, and deter us from

from any further acquaintance or familiarity with it. How few is the number who bear proſperity with ſuch moderation, as to prevent envy or create eſteem; excite the amiable, and conciliatory graces of condeſcenſion and humanity, or make that honeſt acknowledgement of their ſhare in the common infirmities of nature, which conſoles in ſome meaſure, the leſs ſucceſsful of their fellow creatures!

How many are the mere drudges of the worſt paſſions, ſordid, prodigal, or profligate, and having every thing in their option, deny themſelves nothing, which money, influence or artifice can reach; plunge headlong into every vain and impious exceſs, as appetite, occaſion, or impulſe ſuggeſts; heedleſs of honour, infamy, or peace of mind; and outrage every ſentiment of nature, every dictate of reaſon, and every barrier of decency, except in as far as their own intereſt and indulgence may be affected.

Others, from various motives, not the leſs forcible, that they are ſelfiſh, even affect

affect to be thought chriſtians, while they retain nothing of chriſtianity but the name. Their faith is not to be doubted as we may learn it from their mouths, though not from their actions. The phantom they call religion, is the creature of their own corrupt imaginations, accommodates itſelf to all the wayward humours in the circle of human caprice, and has as many colours as the rainbow; as many ſhapes as Proteus, and as many worſhippers as there are fools and hypocrites. All the homage paid chriſtianity by the votaries of this whimſical ſubſtitute, is a few dry occaſional compliments, with which the common place of courteſy abounds, which coſt them nothing, and which are extorted by reſpect for the opinion of the world. They perform no part of her ſervice; comply with as few of her requiſitions as poſſible; ſeldom or never aſſiſt at her rites, except to get into place, or accept of an office; are not ſo much aſhamed to aſſociate with any other deſcription of the ſpecies, as with her friends, and would rather be ſurpriſed

priſed in a brothel or at a gaming table, than in her ſanctuary, or at her altar. That ſingle day in the week ſhe has always conſecrated for ſolemnities, eſſential to her vital preſence among men; in which, the greateſt and wiſeſt in all ages, have cordially acquieſced and ſanctioned by the moſt punctual and reſpectful obſervance; they openly profane in cabals, routs, and concerts, winding up buſineſs, recreation; perhaps riot and diſſipation; certainly any thing, but going to church, or ſetting an example of becoming decorum to others.

The community may be conſidered as one great family, all the departments and branches of which are faſhioned into order; every way prepared for the ſubſequent duties of life, and guided by thoſe immediately above them, who from ſuperiority of age, ability, or ſituation, are entitled to lead. And what other monſters than ſuch as we every where perceive crouding, convulſing, contaminating, and darkening the back ground of the picture, can take their ſhape, their gait, their geſture, and

their

their whole deportment from theſe patterns of deformity?

A ſituation of rank or affluence may be conſidered as the greateſt ordeal of human merit. Would you know what a man is, of what he is capable, or how he will act? inveſt him with greatneſs, make him rich, or give him power.—He will inſtantly appear in his own proper character, and wear a maſk no longer than he finds it neceſſary. It is, when fluſhed with honours, and intoxicated with an high reputation, in the plenitude of wealth, and the ſplendour of proſperity, that he is known from others, or that his virtues and vices are correctly aſcertained.

Who can tell, how one born and bred among rags and cobwebs, would ſit on a throne, or wield a ſceptre, or bear the exterior of royalty; how lowly he would demean himſelf under every excitement to pride, who is, as ſoon in miſery as in being; how abſtemious he would prove at a great feaſt, who never eat a dinner but of herbs; how temperately he would govern kingdoms,

doms, or command armies, whoſe reign has been hitherto confined to children, or ſchool boys?

In a mean obſcure condition the nobleſt virtues are rarely found, but their luſtre in a cottage or a deſart is only heightened by the contraſt, as the ſetting ſun never diſcovers more beauty and magnificence than in a duſky horizon, or through a medium tinged with clouds.

Proſperity is a veil tiſſued with gold by the fingers of fortune to ſhroud or diſguiſe the uglineſs of vice; adverſity is a public theatre, on which virtue rears her offspring by a ſeries of rough diſcipline, in the exerciſe of abſtinence and hardihood, as in foreſts the ſtatelieſt trees are often found in ſituations the moſt expoſed.

Poverty of ſpirit amidſt the greateſt abundance, humility overwhelmed by attendants and ſuperfluous equipage, temperance prompted to exceſs by every excitement which luxury can ſuggeſt, moderation in fortune without limits, or power without controul, compoſure in ſcenes of general

general turbulence and commotion, equanimity in viciſſitude, patience in tribulation, and good nature under all the provocations of malignity, are exertions, both of the underſtanding and the heart, to which few are competent; which ſeldom happen but on great occaſions; which are never made but from the beſt principles, and in the beſt hopes of that immortality, which is their beſt reward.

Individuals, who in this manner can do all they would, and yet do nothing but what is fit and right; who, in every inſtance, are above ſacrificing the preſent to the future; who ſuffer not their appetites to riot or flutter like butterflies amidſt that variety of ſenſual objects which is moſt delicious and faſcinating to fleſh and blood, but reſtrain them, within the bounds, and enliſt them on the ſide of modeſty; who, like a celebrated prince of antiquity, can, without exultation, exchange a cottage for a palace, and handle the ſceptre with the ſame humility they held the plough; poſſeſs a virtue, of which theſe degenerate times

times are no longer worthy, which they derive not from the example of the world, but the inſpiration of the Almighty; and which borrows no luſtre from pedigree or rank, but confers an inheritance and a name better than that of ſons and daughters.

The example of all elevated by ſtation or wealth, poſſeſſes a moſt powerful and prolific influence in the production of either good or evil, and makes mankind, every way, much better, or much worſe. All their property, however immenſe, is but a gratuity, all their authority but a delegation from God. Their habits of reſerve, their numberleſs aſſumptions, and their whole demeanor, are calculated to awe the multitude, and preſerve the eſtabliſhed reſpectability and dignity of rank. They are conſequently regarded by the vulgar as ſo many divinities, and with a ſpecies of homage and reverence that borders on idolatry. And the reaſoning, by which moſt people reconcile themſelves to the follies and vices in faſhion, would have no

effect

effect but for the ſceptical notions and looſe lives of the great.

" If men, ſay they, who know more, " and are not under the ſame neceſſity " with us, of burying their misfortunes in " debauchery; of abandoning religion and " decency for an indulgence which they " cannot have but in their abſence; of " cultivating habits, of breaking the ſab- " bath, and of deſpiſing the worſhip of " God; of relinquiſhing all principle, " and bidding defiance to all law, becauſe " they cannot afford to be honeſt; are " notwithſtanding, guilty of theſe enor- " mities, what can be expected from us, " who are bribed by every thing around " us to do worſe, but have little or no " aſſiſtance, either from our own, or " other's principles to do better? Why " ſhould they monopolize the wickedneſs " as well as the wealth of the world? " Their minds, better inſtructed, are abler " to ſee through the manifold impoſtures, " to detect the ſophiſtries, and to reſiſt

" the impetuoſity of paſſion, than our's. " They have more at ſtake, muſt be " greater loſers; and, from their educa- " tion and habits in life, have a clearer " and readier apprehenſion of their riſk " than we, who err as much, perphaps, " as often, from ignorance, as from de- " pravity. We can hardly go wrong in " following their ſteps, who are aware of " the dangers to which the leaſt deviation " on the right hand or the left, muſt ex- " poſe them. Why, therefore, may we " not imitate them, as they imitate " others? They never can miſlead us " but from wantonneſs alone, as they " often enough do that without the leaſt " temptation which we are ſo generally " unable to avoid. Though it ſuited our " inclination, we do not always find it " convenient to be good. People of for- " tune have conſtantly the means of vir- " tue in their power; the want of theſe " but too frequently drive us into the arms " of vice."

It

It is thus the multitude find an excuſe for their profligacy, in that deference and homage which they owe their ſuperiors; and in which, their payment is never ſo prompt as when with their beſt intereſts; that the progreſs of iniquity is accelerated and ſanctioned by their example, who are beſt qualified to oppoſe it with ſucceſs; and that vice, having every where erected her triumphant ſtandard, and multiplied the trophies of her dominion and our diſhonour without end, dazzles and abuſes her votaries by the golden maſk, under which her fouleſt ulcers are wrapped and concealed.

## *RELIGIOUS SECTARIES.*

It is a ſingular fact, and cannot be mentioned but with inexpreſſible concern, that in no period of our eccleſiaſtical ſtory, was religion ever in leſs repute with the publick, or of more publick inconvenience, by the factious diſpoſitions of ſuch as

would be thought her beſt friends. Hitherto has ſhe repoſed with much of her ancient ſimplicity, ſanctity, and uſefulneſs, in the boſom of our eſtabliſhment; and by which of thoſe, who would drag or ſeduce her from this dignified ſanctuary, has ſhe not been abuſed? The two leading ſects, under one or other, of which, the whole non-conforming fraternity is ranged, verge to oppoſite extremes, and agree in nothing but diſguiſing chriſtianity in their reſpective forms and paſſions. They know, adore, and obey her in no character but this, and to this, implicitly faſhion, and accommodate their own: and the leſs appropriate to truth and nature, her ſpirit and tendency thus perverted and debaſed may appear, the more aſcendency ſhe is likely to maintain, over the illiterate and uninformed.

By extreme ſubtilty of ſpeculation, ſome faſtidious enquirers, argue themſelves and others, out of every thing in revelation but the name. In their opinion, it announces only what is level to the ſhalloweſt capacity; and

and the inſpiration it aſſumes is as ſubject to the rules and caprice of taſte, as any other compoſition. The doctrines found in it by thoſe of other perſuaſions, are as they alledge, without novelty, and incapable of proof. The ſtate of things to which it refers is fictitious. The ſanctions on which it reſts, by which its claims are enforced, and which commands its reception, are founded in human imbecility. It contains no myſteries, diſcovers no medium, by which material and immaterial beings can communicate, and admits of no influence which cannot be explained. The author of the whole ſyſtem, according to them, was alſo no more than a mere man, without ſcience or letters; his diſciples equally illiterate and barbarous; his life not ſingular, and his death not extraordinary; he lived in no higher character than teacher, and died but as a martyr of truth. The only miraculous circumſtance in his caſe, is his reſurrection from the dead, and the chief end of his miſſion, was to explain, to ſubſtantiate, and to exemplify, the great doctrine of immortality.

This is filching from the creed of our forefathers, whatever endeared it to the heart of man, and makes it poor indeed. It is really wonderful to ſee men of the beſt parts, ſweeteſt ſpirits, and pureſt lives, duped by a fiction ſo meagre and cheerleſs. But the different conſtructions put by different minds on the ſame intereſting truths, is perhaps, one of the many inexplicable myſteries of providence, ſo well calculated in our preſent ſtate to inſpire us with humility and patience. In truth, but for them, what goes by the name of rational religion among its votaries, could have no influence, and no reception. It extends the human intellect beyond the limits preſcribed by nature, and renders divine authority ſubſervient to ſhort-ſighted reaſon. It involves at the ſame time ſo many exquiſite refinements and nice diſtinctions, is of ſuch a cold repulſive genius, and requires ſo much thought and abſtraction of mind to maſter its nature and drift; that it never can be very popular, or materially affect the general practice of the world.

Others

Others are as much for grace as theſe are for reaſon, and exclude common ſenſe from their creed, as entirely as thoſe we have now deſcribed, do myſticiſm. Whatever is novel, eccentric, and leaſt on a level with the ordinary underſtandings of mankind, will always attract the low and unlettered in greateſt multitudes, who are eager to wander from the plaineſt path, and often become weary even of their beſt bleſſings. Alas! how ſtrangely does the fact ſtartle and confound me, that here alſo, ſo many of the beſt cultivated minds ſhould rank among the leaders of this farcical and noiſy ſect. To ſome of them, it would become me perhaps to bow implicitly, but that we muſt *call no man maſter on earth*. Aware likewiſe, that my intereſt in the iſſue, is as great and ſerious to me, as theirs can be to them, they do not expect me either to reſign my underſtanding, or omit my duty, as the free exerciſe of the one, is as indiſpenſible to my comfort as the practice of the other.

Their aſſumptions appear to me at leaſt, very different from that *lowlineſs of mind*,

ſo beautifully exemplified in the life of our divine maſter, and the infallible effect of his religion on the hearts and lives of all true believers. There is no goſpel but what they preach; no doctrine true but what has their ſeal; no inſtruction right or ſafe but what comes from them. And few of their teachers ever aſcend the pulpit, without traducing and arraigning their fellow labourers in the ſame vineyard, and changing the ſeat of charity into a vehicle of detraction. In their judgment, the moderation of others is indifference; their ſenſe of decency, a ſinful compliance with cuſtom, and their predilection for regularity and order, want of ſincerity and zeal. It is only by ſinking theſe in vulgar opinion they buoy themſelves up. And the expedient both diminiſhes the popularity of competitors, and increaſes their own; but does it not alſo ſmite religion in the tendereſt part, by defeating her influence, and barring the utility of her beſt teachers, and ableſt defenders?

It

It is not their doctrine, but their manner, that ſtrikes me as culpably irregular. They ſpeak of faith and works in a way, which leads the ignorant to conſider them as diſtinct things, and place them in oppoſition to each other; as if the effect did not in this, as in all caſes, depend on the cauſe, and the principles could be ſeparated from the precepts of the goſpel. They ſeem to think it of little conſequence, what their adherents do or ſay; how they live, if they believe; what their actions are, if but othodox in their creed; how their relative duties are performed, if they but follow and applaud them.

Thus, by handling the word of God deceitfully, they mangle the practical part of chriſtianity, and accommodate her pure ſpirit and divine laws, to invidious and mean paſſions. By their ſtandard, even the ſermons of the holy Jeſus were not worth hearing, or only mere moral harangues, as they delineate characters in real life, and chiefly inculcate on mankind, what they owe one another.

Their

Their tenets, ſeen through the dark diſguiſe of a barbarous phraſeology, ſcholaſtic jargon, and puritanical cant, in which they are ſtudiouſly enveloped; may accord for the moſt part, with the articles of our church. But the gem, though heavenly, is loſt in the fouleſt cruſt. They approve of none, coaleſce with none, who detail the ſame truths in diction, leſs vulgar, leſs antique, leſs looſe and gothic, and not as taſtleſs, or identically the ſame with theirs! And perhaps the chief difference between them and ſuch as they ſtigmatize is wholly verbal; the former always ſpeaking a language perfectly technical, and long ſince obſolete; the latter only, that of common ſenſe and common uſe.

What can be ſo dexterouſly calculated to gratify a cabal and augment its influence, as the pride they take, in thinning adjacent, or contiguous congregations, traducing other preachers, and defeating their miniſtry by miſleading and abuſing their ſtated hearers? Who can appreciate the injury they do the parochial clergy, by thus interfering with

with their deareſt rights, alienating the hearts of their pariſhioners, and intercepting, by every ſpecies of low intrigue, that eſteem and affection, to which their care of ſouls, their paſtoral relation ſanctioned by the laws of the land, their ſpiritual aſſiduities, and their reaſonable expectations ſo juſtly entitle them?

Men of this irregular caſt, and proud of mobs for their followers, are in religion what many are in politics, always in oppoſition to the *powers that be*. All factions equally juggle the multitude, and by undermining the influence of authority, render their paſſions turbulent, and their lives wretched. For crouds inſtinctively reſort wherever the ſtandard of diſcontent or reform is erected. And ſurely the preſent irritable complexion of the public mind is enough to make us ſhudder at all extra gatherings of the lower orders of ſociety, whether from pretenſions of piety or conviviality.

What other conſtruction can be put on their aims and views, who ſhew an unequivocal

quivocal ſympathy with the wildeſt conventicles, an eagerneſs to open all the churches they can for nocturnal ſervice, crouding our greateſt thoroughfares with receptacles for the party, and running down the modes and friends of our eſtabliſhment; but that they are tacitly in uniſon with all agitators of the community?

At the ſame time, that they expect to be deemed more religious and devout than others, they delight in *ſpeaking evil of dignities*, pay little or no deference to their ſpiritual ſuperiors, and demonſtrate by the whole of their clerical deportment, a ſettled diſſatisfaction with the organization of that ſociety of which they are members, by which they live, and of which they ſeem in love with nothing but its gains.

This fanatical encroachment on the ſettled habits of ſociety, is attended with effects, now more eſpecially, ominous and alarming. It is acceſſary to that deſperate ſpirit of innovation, which has been the downfall of the French Monarchy, and frowns portentous on our own, and every regular

regular government of Europe. Nothing is ſo inimical to public peace, as popular uneaſineſs, under relative obligation. Looſen the minds of the multitude from the leaſt, and they will be reſtleſs, perverted, and wretched, till they burſt the greateſt ties. A habit of trifling with the bounds of decency, and impatience under cuſtomary reſtraint, is the germ of licentiouſneſs in all its groſſeſt exceſs. It produces ſchiſm in the church, and rebellion in the ſtate, and is palpably incompatible with that ſenſe of order in all; without which no ſociety on earth can exiſt.

And is this a time to ſet the feelings of the populace afloat, when ſurrounding nations tremble at the approaches of anarchy? to rouſe the friends of democracy, while the whole continent of Europe is actually convulſed? to diſtract the public apprehenſion, when the ſtorm gathers and is ready to burſt in every part of our hemiſphere? to excite or countenance commotion, when all the functions of government are hardly competent to prevent

and

and ſuppreſs it? to inflame the paſſions of the low and needy, when ſo much the intereſt of all and their own, to keep them quiet? to accelerate the temerity of the deſperate, when all the beſt privileges of ſociety are at ſtake?

Never were the preferences, parties, and politics of men, eſpecially men of influence and addreſs in all their intercourſe with inferiors, ſo juſtly an object of jealouſy and inſpection as now. The ſafety of the public, and our duty to God and man, our king, our country, and ourſelves, abſolutely forbid all connivance on our part, with whatever looks like faction or cabal. Diſhoneſty and ſwindling are not more pernicious in the common walks of buſineſs than the artifices and manœuvres of double minded men, to the quiet and proſperity of the community at large, in carrying on their ſordid and intereſted ends; by thus practiſing on the ſimplicity and credulity of their fellow creatures.

*PRESENT*

*PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.*

No ſtate of the world tranſmitted to us by tradition, by hiſtory, or by any other ſort of document, is at all ſimilar to what we of the preſent generation, now actually experience. Surrounding nations are all viſibly perturbed, disjointed, and impoveriſhed by ſuch a war, as mankind never ſaw before; panting for peace, doubtful which is moſt ſafe and honourable; to cloſe with it on any terms or on none, and trembling equally for the iſſue whatever ſide of the alternative ſhould be adopted.

We ſtand in the midſt of conflicting nations, not on any aſſumption of neutrality, but ſeriouſly affected by all the variety of policies, proviſions, and paſſions which enter into the councils, direct their movements, or accelerate their deſtiny. We participate in all the evils which injure and depreſs them, the alarms which deprive them of quiet; the principles which

which undermine the morals and loyalty of their people; and the ſcarcity and exorbitant price of all the neceſſaries of life, which render mobs deſperate, and inſtigate them like wild beaſts to turn on their keepers! And we certainly have our ſhare in all the ſufferings and dilapidations entailed on the belligerent powers, by the horrid and implacable enmities, into which a combination of unprecedented conjunctures and ſituations have precipitated them.

The caſe of our own country, perhaps leſs perilous and deplorable than any, is yet far from deſireable. Violent diſſenſions among the great parties and families who divide the country, occaſion much diſcordance and threaten more. The people are exaſperated by burdens they are little able to bear, harraſſed by exactions they cannot anſwer, exhauſted by hardſhips for which they have no patience, and racked by ſenſations they cannot conceal. Faction is at work, and all its productions are calculated; not to allay, but inflame our general irritation; not to quiet, but increaſe

increaſe the clamour; not to narrow, but widen our differences. The ſignificant givings out, of all who ſigh for a new order of things, the foreboding apprehenſions of the doubting and timid, the ſurmiſes of the crafty and treacherous, and the ominous prognoſtics of impoſtors, abuſe the public, and incenſe, and prepare it, for any emergency or irruption that can happen.

The temper it has lately diſcovered, is a natural conſequence of a ſtrange ſeries of events, which have recently occurred among our next neighbours, and diſtinguiſhed them, from all other nations. There, every thing is ſo effectually reduced to firſt principles, that the very elements of any ſpecific government can hardly be traced. And this mighty change has been accompliſhed by ſuch agents, ſuch means, and to ſuch an extent; as the unprincipled and groſs maſs of the people in no country could witneſs with ſafety. Even among us, notwithſtanding a palpable difference of character, it has actually polluted their hearts, and alienated them from the duties

of their ſtation, filled their heads with revolutionary theories, their fancies with dreams of political empiriciſm, their mouths with blaſphemy, and their lives with diſtraction and miſery.

FRANCE, is no more perhaps, to the immenſity of the univerſe, than an individual to its ſpecies, or an ant-hill, to our terreſtrial globe. We however, who occupy a neighbouring hill of very inferior dimenſions, naturally regard it, as of no inconſiderable magnitude. And the ſtate of the one, notwithſtanding the channel which divides them, can hardly be quieſcent, while the other is ſhook to its baſis.

In truth, it muſt be a conſideration of real heart-felt concern to all men of ſenſibility and diſcernment, whatever their political opinions are, that ſuch awful commotions have been any where raiſed; that a ſociety once the moſt happy and poliſhed on earth, ſhould become in a moment ſo ſhockingly defaced; that property of every deſcription, and almoſt exceeding computation ſhould, all of a ſudden, be thus oddly ſunk;

ſunk; that ſuch prodigious multitudes, and moſt of them in the flower of youth, in ſo ſtrange a manner, and ſo ſhort a time, ſhould be loſt for ever to their families, their country, and the world; and more than all, that ſo many of the ſpecies without any fault, on their part; any ſhare in the provocations alledged, or any influence in the popular inſanity that enſued, ſhould be the victims of private revenge; fall by the hands of the public executioner, or linger out the dregs of life in ſolitary obſcurity, chilled by the icy gripe of penury, or become a ſilent prey to the fell agonies of deſpondency or deſpair.

Who can recollect the treachery of her armies; the inſurrection of her citizens; the immediate ſuſpenſion of all authority and law, and the ſubſequent deſolation, which involved in one vaſt ruin, her monarchy, her royalty, her hierarchy, and rank, in all its various degrees and diſtinctions, without horror?

Who is not equally ſhocked at the relation of the maſſacres, perpetrated in her

priſons by the mock proceſs, the nocturnal tribunals; the ruthleſs judges, and the fatal ſabres: an event which has probably no parallel among human tranſactions, but which marked at once the genius and progreſs of theſe ſanguinary meaſures.

But what will be regarded by poſterity, as the indelible ſtigma of the age in which it happened, and the actors principally concerned, was the murder of a ſovereign, whoſe gentle nature and amiable virtues, rendered every indignity he underwent doubly atrocious; the exquiſitely refined villainy which ſoon after compaſſed the death of his widowed conſort; and the very groſs barbarities which the royal iſſue have ſince experienced!

Had all this happened by any extraordinary convulſion of the elements; by a volcano unequalled in magnitude or force in any former period or part of the world; by gnawing famine, which exhauſts the energies, and dries up all the ſprings of exiſtence; by ghaſtly peſtilence, riding on the pale horſe of death, in whoſe preſence, every

every face gathers blackneſs, and the ſtrongeſt current of life, inſtantly becomes a putrid maſs; by an earthquake, more terrible and alarming in its progreſs, more univerſal in its ſhocks, and more awful and deſtructive in its effects than ever perturbed our globe; the worthleſs and profane would be every where confounded; the piety of the good derive a momentary ſanction from the accidental gravity of the publick mind, and the world at large put on a face of penitence; the whole, perhaps, would be conſidered as the ſymptoms of ſuch an approaching cataſtrophe as might equally decide the fate of all nations. We ſhould then ſee the criminalities of a guilty life, exchanged for the habitudes of ſobriety; the libellers of order, and the levellers of ſociety in deſpair; the haters of God found liars; the praters againſt his providence dumb; the mouths of blaſphemers ſhut; the enemies of his cauſe abaſhed; fools ſerious, and atheiſts at their prayers.

But theſe events, occuring by the ordinary means of men's ambition, ſurmounting all controul, and inceſſantly producing freſh exceſſes, the horror they are naturally calculated to inſpire, is gradually diminiſhed by the familiar light in which we are accuſtomed to view them. They diſcloſe ſo much of human agency, as darkens or precludes our apprehenſions of any inviſible or ſuperintending Cauſe. Viewing them as originating in man's guilt, rather than God's government, we ſeldom advert to their deſign, or duly conſider their uſe. In this apathetic humour, all things ſeem alike to all, and we perceive not their cauſes in their iſſues, or rather their conſequences in what precedes them. But we hear of millions made miſerable by every kind of outrage and calamity; populous and flouriſhing cities reduced to aſhes; armies of poor infatuated fellow creatures perpetually occupied in the maſſacre of each other, many of them butchered even in cold blood, or periſhing in their wounds, or ſlowly conſuming amidſt the putrefaction

faction of crouded hoſpitals, rotting in camps or entrenchments, or falling daily in vaſt numbers in ſieges or battles——with not half the intereſt or emotion we experience in witneſſing the progreſs of a fiction in a playhouſe.

It is impoſſible to ſay, what more flagitious tranſactions remain to be perpetrated by theſe parricidal agents, notwithſtanding their late profeſſions of moderation; how long they may continue on the ſtage, and blazon the infamy of our common nature by how many more ghoſts of ſlaughtered contemporaries, they may yet be haunted; how much deeper they may again plunge in the beſt blood of the country, and what number of themſelves, may finally become victims to the manes of ſo many royal and reſpectable martyrs!

——— O! but man, proud man,
Dreſt in a little brief authority;
Moſt ignorant of what he's moſt aſſur'd:
His gloſſy eſſence, like an angry ape,
Plays ſuch fantaſtic tricks before high heav'n,
As make e'en angels weep!———

Indeed the foul intrigues, dark conſpiracies, and ſtill more execrable tranſactions hatched in the boſom, and daringly perpetrated in the face of the ſun; by the infuriated and bewitched people of this famous, and once flouriſhing empire, and the agonies in which ſhe has long writhed, and ſtill writhes, and which have ſo rapidly increaſed to their late frightful extremity, may probably be more or leſs felt, in every civilized ſociety in the known world. Wherever the fame of her arts, her arms, her commerce, her eloquence, her philoſophy, her poliſhed manners, or her ſocial virtues have reached; and has not the ſound of them gone out into all the ends of the earth; all who hear of her oppreſſions and cruelties, her ſudden downfal, her enormities; the mortifications incident to her preſent tribulations——muſt ſhudder at the magnitude of her diſaſters, and regard the ſcorpions who neſtle in her bowels with inſtinctive abhorrence; the ſpell which faſcinates her children with indignation and grief; the temerity which has reduced

reduced her riches, religion, and laws, to a wreck, with anguiſh of heart; the ferocity with which her beſt citizens have been outraged, with ſadneſs and ſorrow; and the groſs and bloody ambition of every ſucceeding faction, who ruſhed to power through heaps of ſlaughtered competitors, and uſed it only, or chiefly, to ſate their revenge, on the good, the great, the opulent, or thoſe who revile, reſiſt, or rival their purſuits in the ſame unhallowed career, with antipathy, and execration!

Who knows after all what the real iſſue of theſe things may be? In what they may terminate, or what ſpecies of good may reſult from ſuch a deluge of evil? Where the ravages of regular ſociety begun in the heart of Europe may end? When, or by what means, legitimate authority may recover the tone it has loſt? How beſt the ties which faſten multitudes into one body, thus broken, may be reſtored and tightened? What deſigns of order a good providence may effect by ſo much confuſion? What light may ariſe out of all this darkneſs?

darkneſs? What thoſe inveterate maladies muſt have been in the moral or political body, which could not be cured by any other remedy than ſuch numerous and extreme evacuations? How much other countries ought to watch againſt the prevalence of ſuch dangerous innovations as lead to a general cataſtrophe, and occaſion theſe monſtrous and melancholy ſcenes? And how peculiarly incumbent it is upon us, in this happy iſland, who have eſcaped ſo long theſe terrible calamities, to perſevere in ſuch patriotic and conſtitutional meaſures, cultivate thoſe dutiful diſpoſitions, ſet thoſe impreſſives examples, and imbibe, recommend and propagate thoſe intereſting principles of liberality and true religion which can perfect our ſafety and inſure our happineſs.

All popular commotions extirpate morality by the roots. The profligacy which accompanies the hoſtilities of nations, and more eſpecially the ſeat of war, is notorious and proverbial. By witneſſing the repeated violation of all, for which the hearts of men

men have ever cheriſhed the tendereſt regards, the very ſenſe of virtue is frequently loſt. Who can remain long alive to all the delicacies of innocence, juſtice, humanity, mutual fidelity, and friendſhip, whom terror and deſpair, impel to act on the unnatural principle of utter inſenſibility to every conſideration, both of the preſent and the future: Of ſuch a coercion as occurs in this caſe, no rational and voluntary reſult can be expected. And where the paſſions are lawleſs, and the will not free, the heart to a certain degree, muſt be diſtempered, its affections biaſſed, and all its judgements and energies irregular.

Even in the ordinary courſe of legiſlation, the miniſtry of government, the diſtribution of public juſtice, and the whole detail of ſtate affairs, much tenderneſs is due to the general opinion and feeling of all. In the lower as well as higher departments of ſociety, moſt minds are impreſſed with a ſtrong inſtinctive ſenſe of right and wrong. Every national meaſure, not perfectly accordant with this radical principle of our nature,

nature, has a direct tendency to impair and ſtifle its influence. And the injuries popular law-givers and governors may do a whole people, by inattention to this circumſtance, ſurpaſs all calculation.

But on great occaſions, when emergencies of ſtate call forth all her ſtrength, public affairs cannot always be ſafely or efficiently carried on without incurring more or leſs of this inconvenience. Few are competently qualified either by capacity or information to comprehend the combined effect of multifarious particulars in all their diverſified relations and bearings, which conſtitutes ſuch an imperious neceſſity, as often and unavoidably ſhapes and impoſes politics, and operations not intelligible to any but thoſe in the ſecret. And who can tell, how much the beſt ſenſibilities of ordinary minds, loſe of their purity and vigour, when the plain paths of truth and integrity, ſeem deſerted by ſuperiors and rulers, in whom they confide, and for whom they cultivate ſentiments of cordial reſpect and eſteem? It is not from them

them any liberal or juſt allowance can be expected for the apparent obliquities, formal etiquette, or laboured pantomime of publick life. They know not how to accommodate without ſurrendering, their principles; cannot ſtoop without falling, and are not ſo eaſily perſuaded to drop the ſhape as the ſubſtance, to concede a part as relinquiſh the whole.

Theſe are ſome of the many circumſtances inimical to the ſacred intereſts of morality and religion, in which the preſent generation have the misfortune to ſtand. Situation and accident, jumble us into ſuch a chaos of perplexity and diſtraction as vitiates our underſtandings, depraves our inclinations, and perverts all our active powers. And perhaps we may as well look for eaſe in a fit of the gout, health in the midſt of the plague, or ſafety in the plunge of a battle, as the virtues of devotion, ſincerity, probity, humility, mortification, good men, worthy citizens, and true chriſtians, in times and places thus agitated and diſſolute.

# DISCOURSE THIRD.

## LITTLENESS OF HUMAN VIEWS.

*Sources of knowledge—Organic imperfection—Futurity inſcrutable—Human efforts poor in the eye of ſuperior beings—Our habitudes inimical to mental activity—Ideas of the Divinity—Indulgence—Reſignation.*

WE are at beſt but ſhort ſighted creatures, and nearly as limited in knowledge, as in ſpace. Our higheſt faculties, even in their moſt improved ſtate, are narrow, ſcanty and impotent. Their range for the moſt part is confined to our ſenſes. Every ray of light, which more or leſs breaks on the intellectual world within us, comes originally through theſe contracted channels. Such groſs and obſcure conductors ſufficiently account for the ignorance, and uncertainty, in which all our enquiries are involved; the doubts which baffle our acquiſitions of knowledge, and the perplexity

ity which mars and retards the diſcharge of duty. The light of a houſe is not more certainly diminiſhed by ſhutting up a window, than all the powers of the mind feel proportionably weakened or darkened by any defect in our organs of ſenſation.

Our place, amidſt the multifarious phœnomena of creation, or the wonderful and inceſſant operations and viciſſitudes of nature, is but a point! and what is our duration in this viſionary and painful ſcene, more than a moment? but to the requiſitions of that point and the duties of that moment, all our faculties are admirably adjuſted and wiſely reſtricted.

> " Why has not man a microſcopic eye?
> " For this plain reaſon—man is not a fly."

From our anxious and reſtleſs ſolicitude all the regions, realities, and contingencies of futurity are wrapt up in profound, impenetrable obſcurity, and for *the book of knowledge fair* preſents us with *an univerſal blank*. It is a ſea without a ſhore, a pit

pit without a bottom, an ideal extent without bounds, a mere poſſibility of endleſs exiſtence. To this country we all haſten: but of its ſhadows or ſubſtance, its enjoyments or miſeries, its caſualties or events, we are perfectly ignorant. Between that deſtination and this valley of viſion there is no direct or ſenſible communication. All to come is a land of darkneſs to which we are all equally aliens and ſtrangers. It affords no data, or facts, or documents, or experience, theſe rudiments or means of ſcience, to guide, or aid, or facilitate enquiry. An impervious cloud hides from our view, whatever may be aſſigned or betide us of good or evil, in all the diſtributions and revolutions of a boundleſs hereafter.

Not to mention the inexplicable texture of our frame; and ſtill more the wonderful and inviſible agent who animates and directs it, the myſteries implicated in the form, poſition, connexion, function, and ſubordination of our ſeveral organs; and eſpecially that inconceivable impulſe which

gives

gives motion and efficiency to all; there are minutiæ in every petty circle we individually deſcribe, which baffle all our penetration and reſearch. The circumſtances of our own actions, are not always perfectly obvious even to ourſelves. And we, probably make no better appearance in the eyes of ſuperior beings, with all our boaſted intelligence, inventions, diſcoveries and reſources, than moles who grope in the dark, or only burrow in the ſurface of the earth. The ſphere at leaſt of exertion and capacity is greater in proportion to ours, than ours to that of the ranks next above us.

" Superior beings, when of late they ſaw
" A mortal man unfold all nature's law;
" Admir'd ſuch wiſdom in an earthly ſhape,
" And ſhew'd a Newton, as we ſhew an ape."

The eyes of our underſtandings are alſo conſiderably darkened by the prejudices of education, deference to the opinions of others, or diffidence in our own; the influence of popular prepoſſeſſion, the eccen-

tricity of an ungovernable imagination, a predilection for paradox, ſcepticiſm, pertinacity, or ſelf conceit, and the want of dignity, honeſty, or firmneſs of mind to avow explicitly or unequivocally our own convictions.

So multifarious and powerful are the cares, diſtractions and emergencies of our preſent mutable and perplexed condition, that the ſmall portion of ſagacity indulged us, is ſeldom or never adequately improved. Neither time nor inclination permits us to make the moſt of our talents or opportunities.

What little intellect we poſſeſs is alſo, for the moſt part, enveloped in habits of apathy or ineptitude, the dupe of vulgar impoſition or credulity, the ſlave of ſenſual gratification, abuſed by its own fugitive creations, or abſorbed in the vortex of conflicting paſſions.

Nor have we any means of correctly aſcertaining either our exact meaſure of activity, or the utmoſt extent of its influence, in what manner human example operates, the

the ſpecific effects cauſed or occaſioned by the prevalence of irreſiſtable appetite or paſſion, indulgence of inverate habits, or compliance with inordinate deſires; how much our good or ill conduct leſſens or augments, the general aggregate of wickedneſs and ſuffering in the univerſe; or what, in any ſingle or given inſtance may be the neat produce of virtue or vice.

Theſe hints are merely ſuggeſted as facts, which no modeſt enquirer after truth would ever wiſh to forget, and as peculiarly calculated to remind private individuals in reviewing and challenging the conduct of publick functionaries, how little they are able to comprehend the whole of any ſubject diſtinctly, and more particularly, how ill moſt of them are qualified to pronounce decidedly, on points ſuſceptible of much plauſible reaſoning on both ſides, which it is not likely they have ever candidly and fully ſtudied, and which to be properly digeſted and underſtood, require more leiſure, attention, capacity, and information, than the common avoca-

tions of life admit, than many in any ſituation, can command, or than it ever can be poſſible for the majority of people to enjoy.

This train of thinking is more particularly calculated to impreſs on all ſerious and well-diſpoſed minds, ſuch leſſons of practical wiſdom as are always eminently uſeful in the conduct of life, and eſpecially now to teach us modeſty in our conceptions of divine things, moderation in all our enjoyments, and ſubmiſſion to the orders of providence.

What are we, the creatures of a day, who cannot command a thought, or a breath, protract for a moment, the brief ſpan of life, know not the hearts of others, or even our own, recollect little of the paſt, and foreſee leſs of the future, that we ſhould affect to fathom the depth of infinite wiſdom, or comprehend the works of omnipotence! Is there not ſomething highly ridiculous, not to ſpeak of its impiety, in applying artificial proportion to immen-

immenſity, adjuſting the fabric of the univerſe by rules of human architecture, and meaſuring eternity by the regulations of time? But even of this extreme abſurdity, are they not all more or leſs guilty; who think of underſtanding the Almighty, or ſearching him out by their puny capacities: or indeed who queſtion the reality and exiſtence of whatever they cannot ſatisfactorily analyſe. Among the greateſt and meaneſt of all the objects, with which our ſenſes are moſt converſant, which of them do we fully underſtand? Wherever we turn our eye, or fix our attention, all our ſtrongeſt faculties of inveſtigation are defeated, and clouds of darkneſs for ever impervious to human ingenuity, bound our proſpect, and bar enquiry. This we know that the ſimpleſt ſubſtance is ſuſceptible of endleſs modification. And the acuteſt reaſoners among thoſe who conteſt the myſteries of revelation, will not find it eaſy to ſhew why three perſons may not poſſeſs one eſſence, while they acknowledge the light of the ſun, the light of the moon,

and the light of the ſtars, to be ſubſtantially one and the ſame. But leaving uſeleſs abſtraction to feed the rage of licentious ſpeculation; inſtead of uttering words, without knowledge from a conſciouſneſs of much ignorance and imperfection; let us be content humbly to adore the intricacies of grace, as well as of nature, which it is not competent for us to unravel, and regard with ſilent gratitude and cordial acquieſcence, the profound œconomy of providence, neither revealed to gratify curioſity, nor hidden to tempt indiſcretion.

From an exceſs in pampering, every ſelfiſh impulſe, an undue eſteem for ſenſual objects, and every ſanguine expectation of the pleaſures they bring, and the ſatisfaction they give, we are ſometimes equally diſappointed and depreſſed. The deception, however, is owing not to any thing naturally wrong in our ſenſes or their enjoyments, but to our romantic imaginations, which clothe them with fictitious qualities. This is not the rank which tempo-

temporary and evaneſcent concerns are meant to hold in our affections; but ſuch is their influence on our minds, that whenever they are out of place, we are out of humour. By reducing them to the proper ſtandard, which aſcertains their true value, uſing them only for ends they are formed to effect, and looking to them for nothing they are unable to yield, we keep them where they ſhould be, and they neither loſe their own ſituation, nor juſtle us from ours. We cannot, by any other conduct, be ſuitably reconciled, to all the various inconveniences which ariſe from our very limited knowledge. Diſpoſitions, inſpired by a moderate ſenſe of what we are, what we can do, and what we ought to expect and foreſee, prepare us for the difficulties which retard our purſuits of wiſdom, prevent mortifications incident to want of ſucceſs, and direct us, in the choice and performance of duty. We are never ſo ſtupid and inſignificant as when blinded and made giddy, by what the world calls a run of good fortune. It is, when our hearts are thus ſwelled and inflated by proſperity,

that our baſeſt appetites and paſſions predominate, and frequently plunge us into deep perplexity and anguiſh. Nor could they have ſo much advantage over us, but for our ignorance of their energies and our impotence, the ſtation we occupy, and the dignity of which we are capable. Amidſt the variety of feelings and emotions which riſe in our minds, by the ſuggeſtions of intereſt, ambition, and pleaſure; a deference for the corrupt maxims, which govern the place where we live; the mandates of cuſtom, the ſophiſms of vanity, and the opinion of the world at large, merely from not knowing better, or not thinking more ſoberly and correctly; often takes the lead, and baffles the dictates of reaſon, however clear, and the voice of conſcience, however loud. After all, the refined preſcriptions of a fantaſtic and faſtidious philoſophy for the guide of life; that ſelf poſſeſſion ſo ſtrongly recommended, and happily exemplified in holy writ, whi h ſuppoſes temperance in the gratification of appetite, propriety in the indulgence of paſſion, and order

order in ſatisfying deſire; is the ſovereign remedy for all our complaints, our cleareſt light in the greateſt darkneſs, our ſafeſt ſtay in the moſt imminent dangers, the higheſt zeſt of our choiceſt enjoyments, and the pureſt medium of our beſt hopes.

Far be it from me to indulge or inculcate ſentiments in any degree incompatible with the higheſt acquiſitions of knowledge and virtue, repugnant to the innocent requiſitions of nature, and oppoſite or diſreſpectful to the lovely ſpirit of our holy religion. The obvious tendency of all we know, and all we believe, is directly the reverſe. We are well entitled to enjoy the good things of this life, when honeſtly procured by the laudable means of induſtry, and more eſpecially when conſcious, from a ſenſe of integrity, of deſerving them. It were then the height of ingratitude, not to taſte with ſatisfaction the liberal bounty of Providence. But even in the full tide of proſperity, when all our wiſhes are moſt gratified, and the cup of fortune overflows, it would ill become us to forget, that a certain degree

rege of manlineſs and moderation, in all our paſſions, purſuits, and attachments, is not only decent and praiſe-worthy in itſelf, but abſolutely indiſpenſible to our own equanimity and peace of mind.

We are happily diſpoſed by the innate ſuggeſtions of our own minds, and every view in which we can poſſibly contemplate the beauties and bounties of creation, to conſider the great and good Author as our indulgent parent. And yet, on the leaſt untoward accident, how often do we ſay to ourſelves, with peeviſhneſs and chagrin, "Why has he made us thus? What can "be his purpoſe in ſubjecting his rational "creatures to ſo much vanity; in afflict-"ing our minds with care, and our bo-"dies with pain; in frequently embit-"tering our beſt pleaſures, and darkening "our gayeſt proſpects; in rendering us "dupes of illuſive hopes in youth, and "victims of decrepitude in age? Are "theſe," we naturally aſk, "the foot-"ſteps of unerring wiſdom and unbounded "bene-

" benevolence? Can the courſe of ſu-
" preme benignity be marked by ſuch
" inroads on our comfort? Does the mer-
" ciful Creator of the univerſe appropriate
" this vain and perturbed world we inha-
" bit only for a theatre of conſpicuous
" triumph to the worſt, and galling mor-
" tification to the beſt? Is it fit, or right,
" or accordant with our ideas of juſtice or
" equity, or the everlaſting claims of re-
" ciprocity, that the injuries of the weak
" and helpleſs ſhould remain unredreſſed
" in complaiſance to the aggreſſion of
" the ſtrong and powerful; that innocence,
" and virtue, and ſanctity, with all that
" is dear, venerable or eminent in human
" eſtimation ſhould be diſcarded from ſo-
" ciety, become the ſcorn and execration
" of multitudes, or incur the obloquy and
" puniſhment hitherto reſerved only for
" the greateſt malefactors and the baſeſt
" crimes.

" Why do the people thus rage, burſt
" their bonds aſunder, and plot againſt
" the Lord and his anointed? for what

" reaſon

" reaſon has impiety the permiſſion of " heaven to outrage all the forms and bar- " riers of decency, and violate with a " high hand, whatever the mind adores, " or the heart reveres and prefers?"

Theſe are the querulous ſuggeſtions of diſcontent and acrimony, not the ſober recollections of reaſon and experience; much leſs, the kind intimations of the wiſdom from above, which exhibits the whole univerſe as one great undivided family, and its Almighty maker as the father as well as preſerver and Saviour of all. Who does not highly applaud and eſteem the father of a family, who regards their frailties with tenderneſs, and even prevents their ſuffering by means which they neither know nor reliſh; and whoſe principal aim in all his actions is to train and capacitate them, as well by frowns as favours, by correction as indulgence, and by ſeverity as lenity, for happineſs and perfection? By giving them their will in all things they might ultimately be good for nothing. They not only occaſion more care, but actually are more

more worthleſs the more they are careſſed. How do we qualify them for the avocations of life, but by duely taming their paſſions, directing their purſuits, and forming their habits. And wherever all this is left undone, or not done early, or only done by halves, they are loſt, for the moſt part, to ſociety and themſelves. We ſometimes pamper our own exceſſive fondneſs at their expence, and by miniſtering to their humours chiefly mean to gratify our own. We think it cruel to repreſs any of their little wayward foibles, and pique ourſelves on the mighty affection of cheriſhing all their harmleſs propenſities. Perhaps we would rivet their attachment to our perſons by exerciſing no reſtraint on theirs, and look for an increaſe of their affection in proportion, as we connive at their follies or forgive their vices. But ſo infallibly are we diſappointed, that ſad experience uniformly ſhews them, always leaſt dutiful who are moſt fondled, and the leſs diſpoſed to honour and reſpect their parents, the more they have been humoured and ſpoiled.

ſpoiled. And well, by the way, does it become all fathers and mothers, to lay it ſeriouſly to heart, that few inſtances of baſeneſs, flagitious exceſſes, or atrocious crimes happen in ſociety, but by ſuch as are thus unfortunately brought up, without diſcipline or correction in mind or manners.

Here is a picture in miniature of the preciſe method by which we are reared under the tuition of paternal providence to happineſs and utility, prepared for the lot aſſigned us and qualified for the work given us to do; of the government of the world in rendering every ſpecies of particular evil ſubſervient to univerſal good; of the divine economy, in every where extracting pleaſure from pain, health from ſickneſs, and ſatisfaction from diſappointment; of his wiſe and gracious diſpenſations ſo uniformly auſpicious to our ſupreme intereſt, ordering all things to the happieſt ends, and conſecrating the time preſent for accelerating all the purpoſes of the time to come.

Self

Self indulgence, ſelf conceit, or ſelf will conſtitute the hereditary diſeaſe of our nature, and muſt be cured, or we cannot be happy. It is the fertile ſource of all our ſufferings and all our ſorrow, all the evils we feel and all we deprecate. It elevates us above ourſelves, reduces our equals beneath us, and our ſuperiors to our own level; rendering us forgetful both of what we are and for what deſigned. It magnifies in our own eyes, every little advantage we poſſeſs, and leſſens in an equal proportion, whatever ſeems favorable to thoſe around us. It tempts us to aſſume where we ſhould be humble, to be proud where it would better become us, to be reſpectful, and even to depreciate ſuch as we ought to eſteem. It pollutes our hearts, intoxicates our heads, abuſes our judgment, and exhibits us to the mockery and ſcorn of the world, as egotiſts, pedants, buſy bodies, and equally hoſtile to our own peace and the peace of others.

Nature under the deſpotiſm of this fatal bias, like a plant blaſted at the core, muſt ſicken

ſicken and die. Religion is the poſitive inſtitution of heaven, for counteracting its baneful effects. And the only ſpecific it preſcribes for this ſalutary purpoſe is affliction. It is a ſyſtem of pulling down obviouſly to build up. It cruſhes every fabric of pride that lowlineſs of ſpirit may triumph on its ruins.

So perfectly deranged and relaxed is the whole of our moral and ſpiritual frame, that it is utterly incapable of exceſſive indulgence. No man always ſucceſsful, was ever uniformly good. Real virtue is a plant of another ſoil. It loves the barren ſolitary ſpot, and ſeldom rears its head, but amidſt the toils of induſtry or the aſperities of misfortune.

This affords ſomething like a clue to all the dealings of God with his rational offſpring; and is ſuch a key as unlocks many diſpenſations of his providence, otherwiſe inexplicable. All our frailties and neceſſities are for ever before him. The whole ſeries of emergencies and caſualties, and whatever crouds or enlivens the tranſitory ſcene of human life, are in his

his hand, and at his diſpoſal. Their uſes and effects take their colour, their ſhape, and their direction, from his permiſſion or appointment. And all the miniſtries and agencies in his ſervice, are unremittingly occupied, in tempering and controuling the various tendencies of every ingredient in our make, and every occurrence in our lives. The worſt therefore, in our imperfect apprehenſions, which can occur, even oddly circumſtanced as we are, either to our perſons, connections, or eſtates, under a government thus ſupremely good and wiſe, muſt be the beſt.

Do we not ſee all inanimate nature in all the diverſified maſſes which compoſe her material frame, every where occaſionally purging herſelf of groſſneſs and debility, by convulſions, eruptions, and ſtorms? But for the ſeaſonable interruptions, we likewiſe experience in the purſuits of taſte and the ſatiety of deſire, we ſhould ſoon become uſeleſs, and ſink down into mere heaps of putreſcent duſt. And it is wiſely ordered, that our lot in this probationary

ſtate ſhould be daſhed with adverſity, that our ſuperior natures be not victims of our inferior, and that our ſpiritual and immortal affinities be not finally loſt in our eagerneſs to pamper corporeal ſenſibility.

Thus eaſily and effectually does the chriſtian revelations ſolve a problem in morals, which has long puzzled and confounded all the wiſdom of the world; put the combined efforts of our beſt advocates for ancient and modern pliloſophy to ſilence, ſtaggered the faith of the good, and given a momentary zeſt to the unhallowed levity of the bad, and literally ſubſtantiated the fact, to which this pious exclamation refers.

" We thank thee, O Father, that thou " haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and " prudent, and revealed them unto babes."

# DISCOURSE FOURTH.

## DEMOCRACY.

*Effects of public diſcontent—Anarchy—Its ſpirit—Its picture—Makes no allowance for human weakneſs—Plato's commonwealth—Democracy different among the ancients and moderns—The latter incapable of it, as practiſed by the former—Sedition ſuppreſſed—Reform in the repreſentation.*

THE alternative, which now occupies general conſideration, is peculiarly intereſting and important. We are called by the temper of conflicting theories and parties, to decide, between the wiſdom of ages, and modern innovation; an eſtabliſhment diſtinguiſhed by the higheſt proſperity, and glory, and viſionary ſyſtems unknown, untried, and impracticable; the cautions of prudence, and the cavils of temerity; a ſituation of confidence and compoſure, and a ſtate of uncertainty and outrage! But whatever the allurements are, which may accompany the projects, hatched by faction and impoſed on the giddy and credulous;

religion and common ſenſe are agreed to prefer the hopes we enjoy, to the fears we incur, the aſſurances we poſſeſs to doubtful expectancy, and what has done much actual good to what might yet do much more evil.

Is contempt of duty, liberty, or are men only in poſſeſſion of their beſt rights, whoſe lives and effects lie at the mercy of one another? Are they not rather the greateſt of all ſlaves who never think themſelves free, but when let looſe to do what they pleaſe? Have we not ſeen this prepoſterous phantom ſet up at our very door, as the criterion of public virtue, and even propoſed to the acceptance of a ſhuddering world, under the ſame proſcription with Nebuchadnezzar's golden image? How many of the worthieſt individuals of both ſexes, have lately before our eyes been compelled to fall down before, and worſhip this gallic Moloch, or be exterminated! Never may an idol and idolatry, thus ridiculous and debaſing, defile or approach the happy lands of our nativity! A feller

ſtate

ſtate of bondage cannot degrade the ſpecies than ſuch a freedom. And they who ſtruggle to introduce it, among us, are as much their own enemies as ours.

The old family manſion our forefathers have inhabited with ſo much credit and felicity for centuries, may want repair; but they would level it with the ground, without providing other accommodations, more to our liking, or better fitted to make us eaſy or keep us quiet. To avoid the annoyance of domeſtic vermin, they would have us leave home for wilds and woods, to be preyed on by wolves and tigers. or becauſe our preſent habitations may not in every quarter be alike perfect, to iſſue forth and be overtaken in a tempeſt! Though the ſhip leaks, and there may be danger, muſt we jump headlong into the ſea, and drown ourſelves, to ſhun a wreck? abandon inſtitutions which promiſe and afford protection, for experiments, to which we may be ſacrificed? ſurrender a government which has made us happy at home, and reſpec-

table abroad, for one which cannot be realized without rendering us miſerable? Can we more literally ſubſtantiate the fable of chaſing Juno, and plunging into a cloud, embrace emancipation, and not only forge but rivet our own chains, eject the farcical pageantry of a court, for the tragical turbulence of a mob, demoliſh the church, and ſubſtitute atheiſm in its ſtead, intercept the legal courſe of juſtice, and employ the diſpatch of aſſaſſins, and having proſcribed all that is ſacred, venerable, and auguſt in a fabric ſo long and univerſally admired, ſanction the bloody impoſitions of tyranny and uſurpation?

There is nothing ſo very unlike what Engliſhmen have always deemed liberty, as modern licentiouſneſs, in which, the voice of reaſon is drowned by paſſion, and men, inſtead of ſtudying to act coolly, collectively, and firmly, emulate one another only in heat and violence. Their moſt prominent principle of action, and what ſeems leaſt ſuſceptible of controul, is to be intemperate, unjuſt, and ſanguinary. All they acquire after the plots they form,

form, the mines they ſpring, the victories they gain, the carnage they make, and the heaps of ruin, in which they bury, as in one grave, all that is beautiful, glorious, and ſubſtantial in ſociety, is but the faculty of deſtroying each other. The louder they roar, the more violent they are, and the greater tumult they raiſe, their deareſt wiſhes ſhrink the faſter from them, and keep the greater diſtance.

What have they to do with liberty, who know not how to appreciate its value, who have not the hardihood to bear it with the dignity and magnanimity which are its trueſt features; who domineer in one capacity, and cringe in another, take up a reſolution they know not how, and abandon it they care not for what, who are led by opinion and not by conviction, conſult their feelings rather than their underſtandings; in themſelves are fickle, fearful, and harmleſs creatures, but fired by the colliſions of a mob, furious, deſperate, and ferocious, capable of humanity in a fit, and in a fit *ſwift to ſhed blood?*

Far be it from us, with ſuch a frightful ſpectacle in our eye, ever to forget what we are or poſſeſs; that we may become what we know not, or relinquiſh the little we have. Never may we loſe ſight, in but a ſingle inſtance, of that juſt medium, which bounds all our immunities, and beyond which, their nature degenerates, their worth departs, and, in their ruin, ours is involved. He is, notwithſtanding, a hardy politician indeed, who, calculating on general appearances, and taking the preſent convulſions of nations, the poſſibility of events, and the temper of the times, into the account, preſumes to decide how long we may retain them, what ſpecies of inſtitutions may uſurp their place, or what we may ſuffer by the change?

Diſſatisfaction like fire, is never at reſt, and the more it conſumes, the more it requires. Minds, under the thraldom of this turbulent impulſe, know not what they want, or where to ſtop. They ſettle only by unſettling all about them, and never feel contented, or at eaſe, but amidſt ſcenes

of

of diſtraction and uproar. It is nearly as poſſible to fix the wind to any given point of the compaſs, as to preſcribe for deſires thus looſe, or paſſions thus intemperate. And ſo verſatile and capricious, do we uniformly find the heart of man, that the more diverſified and vague, the objects of his wiſhes are, he is generally the more irregular, and perhaps impetuous in his purſuits. In fact, he is always in a flutter, but when reaſon takes him by the hand, always in the dark, but when he conſults this oracle, always wrong, but when he ſubmits to this guide.

This teſty and factious turn of mind is the true genius of democracy, under whatever colouring and refinement it is ſometimes diſguiſed, detailed, and defended by its votaries. The inſurrection of a community, irritated beyond forbearance, either by the treachery of popular leaders, or inſufferable oppreſſion, infallibly produces it. And the reſult in both caſes is nearly the ſame; confuſion takes place of order; the weak gives way to the ſtrong; the worſt trample on the necks of the beſt;

and

and wrong openly triumphs over right. The whole mechaniſm of ſociety is thus broke down, its proviſions defeated, its organization ſuſpended, and all its frame in every part deranged; the ſword is wreſted from the civil magiſtrate; law drops its authority, and juſtice ceaſes to be adminiſtred; individuals are every where abandoned to their own protection; all the multiplied ſanctions of property violated at once; and the ſweeteſt endearments of private life, relinquiſhed for public uproar.

The moſt harmleſs effervescence of a democratic ſpirit, is partially repreſented, by the fermentation and tumult of a general election, or in a very inferior degree, by the local diſtraction, which more or leſs, diſtinguiſhes ſome occaſional elections in our metropolis. The body politic thus conſtituted, is always frantic. The patient with us is ſubject only to incidental fits. The diſeaſe in our caſe, is now brought to an intermittent fever, but in theirs, it rages equally at all times, and ends only with life.

Arro-

Arrogance is a leading feature in this prepoſterous conſtitution. However guarded the diſtinction of electors may be, correctly as the right of election may be aſcertained, and rigidly as the rules eſtabliſhed for conducting it, may be obſerved; artifice and intrigue elude all precaution. And to theſe baſe means, little crooked, ſiniſter, proud, inflated minds, will always be moſt addicted. That equality ſo formally avowed between high and low, and the ready and open intercourſe it occaſions, and they, in conſequence, enjoy with each other; give infinite latitude to all the machinations of faction. Thus all offices of public truſt and efficiency, are from the leaſt to the greateſt, expoſed to the acceſſion of the rabble, as the rabble always have the ſuffrage of one another, and the preference of minds moſt on a level with their own. And who is not aware what ſort of lords or ſenators, juſtices, judges, mayors or magiſtrates, not to ſpeak of generals, prieſts or kings, can be ſelected from the groſs canaille in the vicinity of St. Giles and Wap-

Wapping, our Markets and Keys, or even the noted cloud of reformers, and members of affiliated clubs; who obey the ſignal of ſedition, and ruſh to the fields in thouſands.

Even for theſe anomalous characters, we muſt then exchange our moſt favourite ſuperiors, whom Heaven hath given us in mercy; who are a bleſſing, and the diſpenſers of bleſſings, to all about and below them; and who, by their education and habits, the faſhion of the company they keep, and the enlightened circles they know beſt and attend moſt; have a juſt and natural aſcendency over us; are qualified to inſtruct and direct us, in all the claims of private conduct and public duty; and accommodate their fortunes, attentions, and talents, to promote and ſecure our common welfare.

Such is the ſpirit, complexion, and tendency of that anarchy, which threatens inſtant extinction to all our political enjoyments, and would reduce the whole of our glorious eſtabliſhment to a chaos. It is a monſter of enormous magnitude and voracious maw, without prototype in nature or art,

art, of ſhapeleſs figure and diſproportionate parts, the likeneſs of nothing in heaven above, or the earth beneath, and muſt ſooner or later become the hapleſs victim of its own ſpawn. Once in an evil hour it reared its horrid creſt in the iſland we inhabit, and for a moment, devoured all our civil and religious diſtinctions, church and ſtate, monarchy, loyalty, and law. And what good or wiſe man with or without property, does not heartily deprecate the renewal of ſcenes, ſo diſmal and ſanguinary, as were then perpetrated?

But what is this boaſted ſyſtem, when coolly analyſed? Perhaps, the human mind never contemplated a picture more groteſque, more oddly ſorted, more whimſical, or more ambiguous. It is the natural form of regular ſociety traverſed. The bad uſurp the place of the good, the young of the old, the weak of the ſtrong, the fooliſh of the wiſe, the poor of the rich, the ſervant of his maſter, and ſubjects of their ſovereign. The light is occupied by figures which ought to be in the ſhade, and the

ſhade

ſhade with ſuch as better ſuit the light. The interſtices are all poorly ſupplied, and the whole front and back ground ſeem every where meagre and inept. It is a compoſition without energy or adheſion, and ſtamped with no marks of the genius, utility, and deſign of a maſter. It abounds with inſulated groups, not fitted to give any impreſſion, or to produce any contraſt, and which have no ſympathy, no harmony, and no appoſition. The general object is indeterminate, the medium obſcure, the execution below mediocrity, and the whole ſeems little better than a rude maſs, without union, intereſt, or grace.

The requiſites of ſuch a perfect republic, as is competent to all the ends of ſocial happineſs, are in my poor opinion, beyond the reach of humanity. It gives more credit than due, to the groſs of mankind, for the capacity of reaſon, and can be realized only by nations of philoſophers. The temper of the multitude is ſoon irritated, and rendered impatient, by preſuming too much on their intelligence, ſtoring their minds with

with maxims of licentious politics, and addicting them to falſe and faſtidious views of men and things. They are then leſs than ever capable of allowing for thoſe ſympathies and feelings, which, from the beginning of the world, have conſtituted the ruling principle of human life, and without which, no aſſociation of ſuch peeviſh, peccable creatures, as we are, could for one moment exiſt. They indiſcriminately apply one ſtandard to all meaſures, and in none, are able either to modify or relinquiſh the application. In their diſeaſed apprehenſion, official duty is never honeſtly performed, but by virtues and abilities above humanity. Blind to all the imperfections of our common nature, and rankled by a rooted antipathy to their betters, whom they firſt vilify and traduce, and then perſecute or murder; they arrogate ſovereign authority, execute what they call ſummary juſtice, on all they diſlike, ſeize the functions of the ſtate, and direct the whole of its force to ſubſtantiate the black deſigns of their faction. In this paroxyſm

of

of popular indignation, all we moſt value, admire, or love, is involved in one ruin, and no conſideration whatever paid to predilection, reaſon, or fact. The publick mind impregnated and inflamed with paſſion and falſhood, burſts like the blaſt of a whirlwind, and carries all before it. The deſert is not then ſhorn of its herbage; or bruſhwood creeping to the ſurface of the earth; but places of the richeſt culture are laid waſte, and trees of the loftieſt ſtature and greateſt utility, overturned!

Harſh, unaccommodating, and viſionary muſt all theories of government be, which give no indulgence to the eccentricities of human verſatility. Other fabrics ſhape their materials by the compoſition, but here the compoſition takes its ſhape and tone from the materials. Men are not formed for any ſpecific ſociety, but ſocieties of all deſcriptions for men. Exclude from any given number of them, thus united, every advantage occurring to individuals from good fortune, good conduct, occaſional colliſions of life, and ſuperiority

ority of intellect; and their immediate diſſolution is inevitable. For what do they embrace, and are embraced, but the more certainly to accellerate all the purpoſes of reciprocal ſupport, and mutual indulgence; ſo dear to their hearts, and indiſpenſible to their comfort? And a more palpable abſurdity can hardly be conceived, than that political combinations are ever raiſed in any inſtance to ſuch a pitch of intellectual abſtraction, as extinguiſhes all the paſſions of ſelf intereſt, perſonal attachment among individuals for one another, or reverence for every veſtige of experience. However ſuitable ſuch a theory might prove to angels, it is not likely to ſucceed among men. And no family or ſociety on earth can effect any ſolid or laſting eſtabliſhment, in which, ſo little proviſion is made for the exigencies of our lapſed and perverted faculties.

Subordination of one ſort or other, is the organ and form of every body of men, who meet and do buſineſs in concert. All political ſpeculations not founded in this radical poſtulatum, are perfectly ideal and chi-

merical. They may afford amuſement, in as much, as they give ſcope for the exerciſe of conſiderable ingenuity; but they are otherwiſe worſe than uſeleſs, by impoſing on the minds of the credulous, who are unable to detect their fallacy, and fermenting the turbulent and refractory, who eagerly embrace the weight of popular opinion, and artfully conſtrue it, into an apology for ſeditious practice. The true philoſophy of life, ſo graciouſly dictated and ſupported by genuine religion, conſiſts in readily complying to a certain degree, with the humours, oddities, and predilections of each other. In almoſt every caſe that occurs, our eſtimate of character, and the whole of our mutual intercourſe, theſe are conſtantly and juſtly taken into the account. And no good reaſon has been yet aſſigned, why they ſhould in politics only be proſcribed.

In lieu of every political diſtinction, ſo eminently ſecured and provided for us, by the beſt conſtitution, that ever dignified any mortal ſociety, we are preſented by

modern

modern reformers with a cold phlegmatic repulſive ſyſtem; inapplicable to human affairs; not to be touched by imperfect agents; and in no degree of uniſon, with ſuch a mixture of guilt and innocence, vice and virtue, falſhood and truth, ſuffering and enjoyment, as makes up the average of life: diſplaying at leaſt more novelty than experience, more temerity than wiſdom, more pride than philoſophy, more ſarcaſm than ſcience, and more pedantry and paradox, then either reaſon or principle. No data in the hiſtory of our nature, authenticates the preſumption, that this earth of ours will ever be the habitation of beings capable of ſuch a government; that theſe aerial refinements, can ever coaleſce with the wiſhes, or anſwer the exigencies of ignorant and fallible creatures; that maxims of pure reaſoning can ever be reduced to common practice, or rendered acceptable or uſeful to ſuch as have bodies as well as ſouls, and hearts as well as heads, or that notions of political, will be as greedily ſwallowed, and as eaſily digeſted by an illiterate vulgar,

as thoſe of what is known by the name of ſpiritual regeneration. Not all the talents for demoliſhing old and fabricating new conſtitutions, reconciling the jarring intereſts of oppoſite parties, and organizing independent maſſes of men into one whole; which diſtinguiſh the preſent generation of philoſophers who level all our feelings, impreſſions and preferences; to their own ſelfiſh and frigid ſtandard of apathy and inanity; will ever be able to create a ſociety abſolutely unexceptionable, while compoſed as all ſocieties are, of conſtituents, erroneous, capricious, and intractable. Indeed, whatever ſhew of excellence the artificial embelliſhments of genius and eloquence may diffuſe over this *unique* in politics, and by whatever meretricious luſtre it may ſhine and ſparkle, like other meteors in its inert ſtate; its leading principles have no accordance with the effects deſigned, its ſymmetry is rather that of a ſtatue than a man, and it makes efforts like a body, more convulſed than vigorous,

and

and even more dead than alive. It is only in the action of a machine, when all its ſprings and faculties are in motion, we can judge with propriety of its efficiency and uſe.

Senſible how difficult it is, to ſquare in all caſes and circumſtances, by invariable rules of right and wrong; the management of mankind on real democratic principles; one of the moſt enlightened ſages of antiquity, exhauſts all the reſources of tranſcendent genius and philoſophy, in conſtructing a republic for the perfect government of republicans, not as they are, but as they ought to be. The direct and avowed intention of this celebrated inſtitution, is to make human creatures happy under the empire of virtue; and yet the many are abandoned on the outſet, to follow implicitly the dictates of the few. His citizens are notwithſtanding all unexceptionably formed to exemplify individually his idea of a juſt man, whoſe happineſs is complete and uninterrupted, even

when he has nothing to hope from heaven and every thing to dread on earth. Perfect as all its members are, the author of this utopian ſtate, deems a ſtanding army eſſential, not only for repelling external outrage, but alſo for ſuppreſſing internal commotion. All the genius and treaſures of the community are expended in conſummating military ſcience and diſcipline, and preparing the ſoldiers for dexterity and exertion. Every individual in this invulnerable phalanx, unites in his own perſon all the magnanimity of a hero, and all the accompliſhments of a philoſopher. He is a maſter in every branch of muſic, knows the ſecret of every art, and fathoms the depth of every ſcience. His capacity comprehends and digeſts all the ſtratagems of the profoundeſt policy, all the ſublimities of divinity, and all the myſteries of nature. From a department thus eminently and exquiſitely cultivated, all officers of ſtate, by the imperious mandate of authority, without any regard to private inclination, are ſelected at the fiftieth year of their age.

It

It is ſuppoſed, ſeniority may render them venerable, wiſdom procure them attention, and experience give them influence. All this is brought about by means of an education, more adapted for heaven than earth, and which none but beings perfectly immaculate, can either give or receive. Cotemporaries, however, who had acceſs to the ſame information, which that enlightened period of the world afforded him, impelled by conviction, or ſtung by jealouſy, demurred to the ſcheme as impracticable, his doctrines as viſionary, and his concluſions as uſeleſs. And whatever opinion he might himſelf have indulged of their aptitude to active life, they appear no better now, than a beautiful ſatire on their notions, who reduce all political ſcenes to theory; and from ſpeculation alone, labour to conſtitute a perfect ſyſtem of practical government.

The Grecian, Roman, and Carthaginian governments, which for a period of nearly two thouſand years, have been the wonder and admiration of all nations, may

not unaptly be compared to thoſe lofty and umbrageous trees, which grow ſo bulky, and ſtretch out their branches to ſuch an extent, as that the trunk is no longer able to ſuſtain their weight. Indeed this ſpecies of commonwealth, is one of the moſt valuable diſtinctions of thoſe venerable and philoſophic eſtabliſhments in the zenith of their celebrity, but which none of the nations in modern Europe, have ever perfectly realized. Its temperament and organization, but ill accord with our relaxation of manners. It was produced by long, laborious, and correct thinking, rigid diſcipline, and ſevere morality. It derived, in many ſtages of its progreſs, freſh improvements from its colliſion with other ſtates of ſimilar conſtruction, whoſe perfections it generouſly emulated. It preſerved its purity, ſpirit, and vigour, and reached the ſummit of unrivalled excellence, only by inſtituting the beſt laws, executing them in the beſt manner, and delegating the power of the community to none but the beſt men.

Theſe

Theſe virtues, in part at leaſt, have long abandoned our degenerate times, and without theſe, the original ſimplicity and vigour of this, is no where to be found. Our leaſt exceptionable republics, are little better than *ariſtocracies*, more or leſs qualified to chime in with popular opinion, in which the great body of the people have a nominal but no real influence; or probably what is worſe, mere *oligarchies*, in which every thing is left to the management of a few inoſtenſible demagogues, who owe their authority to property, by whoſe example, the natural influence of wealth is enhanced; and the bias of the public, regulated by their ſordid ſtandard, becomes mercenary; where intrigue is often ſubſtituted for law, and where no reſponſibility is attached to ſuch as fill the efficient offices, or occupy the functions of government.

All the republics of antiquity, were the mature reſult of profound political ſcience. In their formation the deepeſt reſources of philoſophy were explored, the moſt enlightened

lightened ſages conſulted, and every aid which hiſtory, experience, or the example of other ſtates could afford, adopted. The people, whoſe intereſt was principally ſtudied in theſe inſtitutions, were alſo for the moſt part, regularly bred or trained for diſcharging, according to their ſeveral conditions and appointments, its various and reſpective duties. The cities and ſtates who preferred it, were, on its commencement, comparatively, but of ſmall extent. The members of thm, in general were ſoldiers, as well as citizens. They flouriſhed only under the auſpices of the moſt conſummate wiſdom and bravery. Their glory, in ſome inſtances, was even confined to the luſtre of a ſingle life. The ſplendor of Thebes commenced with the public character of the celebrated Epaminondas, and declined from the moment of his death.

The maxims by which they were ſupported, ſeem, to populous and complicated nations, altogether impracticable. They afford too many opportunities of caballing, to men of property and addreſs, and betray the

the maſs of the people into mutinies and outrage. Between the patrician and plebeian orders the ſtruggle is ardent and unceaſing. Where the former prevail deſpotiſm enſues, and the latter never ſucceed, but anarchy is the conſequence.

Of all bad governments this is the worſt, and moſt to be deprecated. What can be more fierce and tremendous than popular commotion, or a mob looſened from all ſenſe of reſtraint; conſcious of its force, and determined on any particular object? In the paroxyſms of its fury, it is impoſſible to degrade it, by any compariſon. What combination of brutal force can be more lawleſs, more capricious, more imperious, or more cruel? No ſwarms of the moſt deadly animals, are ever half ſo terrible and deſtructive. Monſters of the deſart ſeldom prowl after blood but from the ſuggeſtions of nature and appetite. For the moſt part they are alſo ſingle in all their predatory excurſions. But ſingle, or in company their attacks are never made on the moſt defenceleſs of their own ſpecies. It is the dreadful

dreadful prerogative of rational creatures to be moſt barbarous to one another, and never to carry the groſſeſt and felleſt propenſities of their nature to more criminal extremity, than when they appear in groups. He who would expoſe our oddities and enormities moſt, or exhibit us in the greateſt uglineſs and deformity, could hardly invent a fitter expedient than ſuch a ſyſtem; as arms them with power in whom the phyſical ſtrength of every ſtate is placed, only that it may be guided by wiſdom, which in none is the portion of the many, but of the few; as utterly confounds all eſtabliſhed inſtitutes of order, tears up by the roots the deepeſt foundations of right, and outrages all the tendereſt concerns of the heart; as preſents one unvaried ſcene of perturbation and enormity, in which the atrocities of one black faction, are inceſſantly ſurpaſſing and ſucceeding thoſe of another, and where the beſt habitually become victims to the guile and ambition of the worſt; as is calculated in ſhort to impreſs the multitude with no ſenſe of authority,

thority, no practical principles of right and wrong, no habits of docility or obedience, no preference for the duties of moderation and decency; without which their manners muſt be eccentric and perfidious; their minds dark and reſtleſs, and their lives worthleſs and miſerable.

What therefore but extreme anarchy, and the felleſt diſtraction can be expected from the futile attempts of moderns, to revive the ſtern politics of ancient nations without their genius, their morals, their habits of apathy, their dignity of refinement, or fertility of reſource? Abſolutely incapable of their auſterity, their paſſive, or their active virtues, how ſhould the labours of a republic be ſupported, by a people wallowing in all the refinements of luxury, giddy, verſatile and ſanguinary; crafty where they ſhould be wiſe, inſidious where they ſhould be open, furious where they ſhould be temperate, cruel where they ſhould be magnanimous, and terrible where it is only neceſſary to be vigorous and firm?

Men

Men of this caſt will never make giants of pigmies, enable foppiſh youth to wield the armour of Goliah, form the fiſts of *petits maitres* to graſp the club of Hercules, or raiſe the effeminate breed of a debilitated race, to an equality or rivalſhip with the heroes of antiquity. The wonders they have lately atchieved, are not the effects of diſcipline and ſkill, which are always more or leſs reſpectable even when proſtituted in ſubſerviency to the moſt diſhonourable ends, but the accidental reſult of frenzy and deſpair, which though generally violent and ſometimes brilliant, are utterly incapable of any permanent efficiency.

It is a brilliant idea and elegantly expreſſed*, "We are called in the preſent "age to witneſs the political and moral "phænomena of a mighty and civilized "people, formed into an artificial horde "of banditti, throwing off the reſtraints "which have influenced men in ſocial

* Parliamentary Regiſter, January 22, 1794.

"life,

" life, diſplaying a ſavage valour directed
" by a ſanguinary ſpirit, forming rapine
" and deſtruction into a ſyſtem, and per-
" verting to their deteſtable purpoſes, all
" the talents and ingenuity which they
" derived from their advanced ſtate of ci-
" vilization, all the refinements of art, and
" all the diſcoveries of ſcience."

All nations, however, in any ſimilar degree of improvement, are infeſted, like France, with immenſe gangs of freebooters, who actually live by felony, pillage, and robbery, who are as ruthleſs as lawleſs, and who eagerly embrace every opportunity afforded them by public diſtraction, of plunging into the moſt deſperate and ſhocking atrocities. Wherever theſe are placed, by accident or deſign, their evil habits will predominate. The higheſt ſtations thus unfortunately occupied, inſtead of concealing, only give vent and ſcope to the felleſt paſſions of the human mind. What may be expected by magiſtrates diſgorged on emergencies from the fouleſt ſinks of ſociety, brothels, ſpunging houſes,

houſes, and priſons, was dreadfully exemplified in our own metropolis not many years ago. If all the arrangements in executive government were thus filled, and every ſpecies and implement of authority ſeized and exerciſed by ſuch ruffians: if from the ſupreme magiſtrate to the petty conſtable in every diſtrict, and even the beadle in every pariſh, all place and power incluſive, were actually poſſeſſed by the loweſt and leaſt principled, we ſhould be in juſt as bad hands, uſed as ill, and as unexceptionably implicated in the general crimination of uſurpers, as our hapleſs neighbours have been. And might not the nation at large remain at the ſame time, in this, as in that country, torpid ſpectators of theſe unhallowed ſcenes, more eſpecially were the ſame ſtandard of terror erected among us, which then lorded it over them?

It is not eaſy to overturn but the mere ſemblance of government, and the leaſt attempt that miſgives, is inevitably fatal to the actors. People in any tolerable ſociety are not naturally reſtive, or turbulent.

lent. Eaſe, quietude and comfort, are ſo acceptable and dear to all, as never to be relinquiſhed or even riſqued, but for ſuch purſuits as give reaſonable promiſe of ſuperior ſatisfaction. All regular ſubordination eſtabliſhes itſelf on this principle, and but for its palpable influence, no uſurpation could ever happen. No advantage taken of it by the moſt abandoned of the ſpecies, can at leaſt be very ſurpriſing to us, after witneſſing as we did * the havoc made on ſociety, by a handful of diſſolute, intoxicated wretches, before our eyes, who began their depredations by demoliſhing the priſons; and then marauded the ſtreets and ſquares with torches and firebrands, in purſuit of their devoted victims, amidſt hundreds of thouſands inactive and panic-ſtruck inhabitants, and in the face of the civil magiſtrate, aided by all the functions of government, and an armed force, within a few miles of town.

* In the Riots of 1780.

Succeſsful treaſon always proceeds from bad to worſe. Who can eſtimate the value of the lives it hath loſt in thoſe unhappy plains where its bloody flag is ſtill hoiſted? Who does not ſhudder and grow pale at the blood it hath ſhed, and the direful maſs of miſery and pain, it even now creates and accumulates in every country in Europe? Peace, the beſt bleſſing of the beſt times, it puts far away from us all, and makes a people, hitherto admired and imitated in all the arts of refinement, by all nations, a terror to themſelves, and all around them, more fell and ferocious than cannibals, literally drunk with the blood of the ſaints.

Indeed the denouëment of every tragedy which accompanies the revolution of ſtates, is the diſpatch of the rulers, and all who have any claim on the reins of authority. Even this dreadful iſſue ſeldom ſatiates the extreme avidity of inordinate ambition. The laws and all their functions are generally implicated in the cataſtrophe of their defenders

defenders and executors. Theſe are the mounds which preſerve ſociety, and when theſe are demoliſhed anarchy breaks in, and rages with the violence and impetuoſity of a torrent.

All republics are grafted in the ruins of monarchy. The authors of theſe ſeldom ſurvive their own work, and never without horror. They keep their ſituation till ſubdued and diſpoſſeſſed; and having no right but force, are often aſſaſſinated on the ſame principles by which they aſſaſſinate others. The very genius of the government is a ſcramble for power, and the worſt are commonly foremoſt where the readieſt path to diſtinction is the moſt crooked. Villains are always conſpicuous in times of civil commotion, as in fires or earthquakes vermin emerge from caverns and occupy the loftieſt ſtations.

What republic in this or former ages does not ſubſtantiate the truth of the ancient adage, Happy is that ſtate which hath a king for its governor? Indeed no nation, where the multitude, inſtead of

being led, devour their leaders and drive all before them, ever acquired any advantage, but inſtantly ſunk into a chaos of inexpreſſible and irretrievable miſery. And it has been quaintly but correctly enough obſerved of the Low Countries, that having long and fiercely contended with Spain, about religion and taxes, they ultimately prevailed ſo far, as to *get all the religions in chriſtendom*, and *pay the heavieſt taxes in the world!*

Theſe deſultory ſtrictures on the nature and circumſtances of republican government, which might eaſily be illuſtrated and ſubſtantiated at great length, by details from the preſent ſtate of nations, and the hiſtory of the ancient world, emphatically admoniſh us, both to be thankful for having hitherto eſcaped ſuch a ſcourge, and ſtrenuous in reſiſting its approaches. And if facts and experience form any material link in the chain of political reaſoning; if the ſober concluſions of common ſenſe merit any attention in the argument; if the plain-

eſt

eſt principles of morality, which forbid in this, as much as in any other caſe, our ſubſtituting prejudice for conviction, paſſion for reaſon, or feeling for duty, are allowed their uſual influence; if any credit be due to general apprehenſion, coupled with the ſolemn and deliberate aſſeverations of the pureſt and moſt enlightened minds, and if the ſacred and dreadful ſanctions of religion, which are calculated to keep us harmleſs, and make us uſeful, have the leaſt impreſſion on our hearts; theſe obligations are more eſpecially at this moment peculiarly indiſpenſible.

The awful and reiterated plunges our Gallic neighbours made, and ſtill make in the pit they dug for themſelves, have ſenſibly agitated us. Even here, revolutionary predilections have been pretty generally indulged among the lower orders, and much induſtry adopted to give them a circulation as immediate and extenſive as poſſible. Have not our ſtreets, our lanes, and thoroughfares of late exhibited, by various

means and ſymbols, this reigning propenſity? It was at leaſt very recently the endleſs theme in markets, proviſion ſhops, pot houſes, places of vulgar reſort, and whereever ſervants, labourers, and mechanics of all deſcriptions met, and ſounded the opinion of each other. What had we not then to dread from chains of clubs founded in this principle, ſpread all over the kingdom, like ſo many colleges fired with zeal for the new philoſophy, firmly united in one fatal deſign, and from reciprocal communication, animated, braced, and formed for exertion, as by one ſoul. Had their ſole end been public good, means of ſecuring it, needed no ſecreſy, but muſt have challenged general approbation, and prompted their fellow citizens to participate in the labour and hazard of the enterpriſe. Honourable projects are in themſelves for the moſt part imperious, and command unanimity. Were the aim of our filiated ſocieties purely patriotic, why ſhould it not have been explicitly ſet forth? why not correctly defined? why ſupported under any

any other pretext? why were its friends ſhy of ſpeaking out? why ſo eager in oppoſing the prevention of what no where exiſted? why purſue indirectly, what they chuſe not to name? why argue obliquely, for what they did not fairly ſtate?

Thus great and manifeſt does the danger appear on recollection, to which theſe ſeditious tendencies, in our popular clubs and ſocieties, expoſed us. The inmates of our common habitation conſpired to level it with the ground, and were buſy in realizing the project of burying their ſuperiors in its ruins. We ſaw them undermining its ſtrong foundations, removing its maſter pillars, and even approaching the auguſt fabric, with execrations in their mouths, and firebrands in their hands. And ought not that Providence which ſo ſeaſonably fruſtrated their deſigns, and intercepted their fury, to be commemorated, while we live, with heartfelt gratitude? Can ever we be deeply enough impreſſed with a ſenſe of his ineſtimable mercy, to whom we owe our deliverance? May our

thanks be as ardent and laſting, as our eſcape has been ſignal and conſpicuous.

Such meaſures have been taken and carried for our ſecurity, as equally demonſtrate the machinations of our enemies, and put us upon our guard againſt them. We had to chuſe between two evils, and have happily preferred the leaſt. The only alternative left, was a painful operation, or a doubtful exiſtence. The conſtitution was likely to ſuffer from its relaxation, and has been tightened; the people have been reſtricted in an indulgence they abuſed, to their own injury; the breaches making by licentiouſneſs in our liberties are repaired; a part is ſacrificed to the whole; and we have voluntarily ſurrendered a little, that all may not ultimately be violently wreſted from us.

It may ſeem a paradox, but the mind of man is made both to overcome and be overcome by perſeverance. No quality of human induſtry or exertion, at leaſt, whether the object be right or wrong, has ever commanded more univerſal ſucceſs. Perhaps,

haps, aſſumptions of temerity for this reaſon are the beſt data of popular eloquence. And he generally extorts the readieſt belief, who affirms with leaſt heſitation. Even truth itſelf has been defeated by an obſtinate perſiſtence in falſhood. We bow to evidence, are ſtartled by boldneſs, but conciliated and attached, by the tender offices of aſſiduity. Even wiſe men are ſometimes dupes, to the prevailing influence of repeated importunity, as well as fools: the latter being always weak enough to yield; the former ſeldom ſufficiently reſolute, not in the humour, or too much teized to reſiſt.

It is from this principle, that fortitude, magnanimity, patience, and many other virtues, borrow all their ſtrength and ſpirit, that impoſture acquires an aſcendency over the vulgar, that popularity is ſo frequently proſtituted in the cauſe of knavery, and that all multitudes ſo generally prefer their foes to their friends. What can be better deviſed for poiſoning the loweſt minds with diſcontent, pampering their invidious

diſlike

diſlike of ſuperiors, inflaming prejudices incident to their ſituation, collecting their diſcordant opinions into one, deſtroying all their reverence for preſent politics, and facilitating the introduction of others in their room; than an inceſſant accuſation of executive government, its meaſures, its agents, its friends, and its aims. The mighty engine thus fatally charged, and haſtily directed, was the more powerful, and threatened the greater miſchief, that, it united immenſe bodies of men, and very extenſive intereſts on one ſide, and brought all this accumulated influence, and all the ill humour of the ſtate; ariſing from competition, envy, diſappointment, perſonal antipathy, and party rage, to bear againſt its very ſpirit as well as form. And theſe alarming effects ſeemed calculated to increaſe by repetition, nearly in the ſame proportion as the velocities of falling bodies, by the quantity of matter they contain, and the extent of motion they deſcribe.

Meaſuring our reſcue by the magnitude of the evils, we ſeriouſly apprehended, how

how grateful ought we to be, not only for his favourable interpoſition, who has the hearts of all in his hand, but alſo, for the men employed to effect our ſafety. To their councils, exertions, and perſeverance, under Heaven, we are probably indebted for all the tranquillity we now enjoy. They have fortunately weathered the ſtorm, gained the haven, and put us ſafely on ſhore. Nor can we ever, without ingratitude, forget their ſtruggles on our account, what they have accompliſhed in our behalf, as well as their own, and that they have conducted the veſſel of ſtate, with happy dexterity, through the greateſt perils; plied every advantage their ſituation afforded, for the proſperity of the whole, and faithfully requited the confidence repoſed in their virtues and ability.

It becomes the guardians of a great people, to watch in this manner, every biaſs in the public mind, that it may be corrected when wrong, and aided when right; and happy is that nation which has the good fortune to be thus honourably directed.

Who

Who knows, to what unwarrantable heights, popular turbulence, rendered fierce and daring by the calamities of the times, might have riſen, dragged or impelled a diſtracted community, had it not been ſeaſonably checked? What reaſon have we not to congratulate ourſelves on the policy which would rather prevent than puniſh delinquency? Nor could the wiſdom of the legiſlature have been more uſefully exerciſed, than in making the beſt proviſion for the worſt that could happen, reſtraining practices which actually trenched on public peace; fruſtrating the manœuvres of faction, and putting a hook in the jaws of the many headed monſter, which threatened our extinction.

The only republics in modern Europe of any conſequence or celebrity, are the Swiſs Cantons and the united ſtates of Holland. And both are rather nominal than real. Any indulgence at leaſt vouchſafed to the great body of the people in either, even under this ſpecious policy, originates in its ariſtocratic, not in its democratic tendency.

dency. And all we know of their executive government, lead us to conclude, that whatever modes and names are aſſumed in public buſineſs and papers of ſtate, in none have the people either much freedom or much influence.

A conſpicuous experiment to a ſimilar effect, is ſtill pending both in America and France. But all our reaſonings on either muſt be premature, while the data they afford, enable us only to report progreſs, and ſuſpend our ſpeculations on ſome hypothetical iſſue. The one by her remote diſtance from European politics and intrigue, her inſulated ſituation on the verge of an immenſe continent, an extenſive line of coaſt, the fertility of her ſoil, a riſing ſpirit of commerce in her inhabitants, the induſtry of her farmers, mechanics, and traders, are circumſtances peculiarly auſpicious to her ſplendor and proſperity, under any ſpecies of government. Much, however, of her recent ſucceſs is owing to the preſent embroiled ſtate of the old world, and more perhaps to the official

power

power and perſonal virtues of her illuſtrious preſident, who under the ſemblance of private independence, virtually exerts the prerogatives of a monarch.

The politics of France are ſtill equivocal, or at leaſt exhibit a very queſtionable ſhape. And, perhaps, few of the preſent generation may live to ſee tranquillity reſtored to that diſtracted country. Like a patient, who has ſurvived the pangs of death, her convulſions remain to a certain degree, and he is at beſt a raſh phyſician, who, in ſuch an exhauſted condition, can even now pronounce her convaleſcent.

But were the quantum of public and private happineſs enjoyed under any or all of theſe governments, ſurpaſſing ours, or equal to our beſt wiſhes; it would ſtill be for us to conſider, what an hoſt of difficulties we have to ſurmount before it can be obtained; the length of time that muſt intervene; the probable diſaſters inſeparable from the progreſs of ſuch an intereſting event; the little chance of ſurviving it by either actors or ſpectators; and even in that caſe, the extreme horror every ſenſible mind muſt

muſt feel among ſcenes exhibiting only ſpectacles of ruin, mournful veſtiges of happier times, perhaps the manes of ſlaughtered acquaintance and friends!

But after all, why ruſh voluntarily on ſuch a ſeries of complicated ſuffering? We laugh at the ſtupid votaries of ſuperſtition, who relinquiſh all the pleaſures of ſenſe, for the ſalvation of their ſouls. Their error, however, is only in the means. The end itſelf is of ſuch importance, as might well juſtify the hardeſt duty. But what ſhall we ſay of purſuing an object merely temporal and abſolutely equivocal, at the dreadful expence of peace, property, and life? Not, but the claims of poſterity, to a certain extent, have a ſolid foundation in what we inherit from our anceſtors. And does it then follow, that the future in every caſe ſhould ſuperſede all conſideration for the preſent; we are to have no enjoyment, merely, that ſuch as ſucceed us may never ſuffer, and in making proviſion for theirs, all our own intereſts and indulgences ought to be neglected or forgotten? Who but muſt admire their patriotiſm,

otiſm, who ſave the liberties of generations yet unborn, by thus generouſly yielding up their own; who for the welfare of thoſe to come, leave their buſineſs undone and their families to ſtarve; and who for the eaſe and accommodation of poſterity, are ready to ſacrifice at once, both country and cotemporaries?

A reform in the repreſentation of the people, has been long the cry of all ſticklers againſt government. It is in truth the moſt likely means of overturning it, and introducing the confuſion we deprecate. But who will guarantee the advantages expected from it? What is the plain Engliſh of the phraſe, "*An equal repreſentation*," but that who ever contributes in any degree to the public expenditure, ſhall have a voice in the choice of repreſentatives, which extends to all who earn a livelihood, as moſt neceſſaries of life, are directly or indirectly taxed? What is this, but expoſing the community at large to ſale, and raiſing the country in a maſs againſt all her legal inſtitutes? The neceſſity of the electors would render them a prey to every impoſ-

ture,

ture, and the certain property of the laſt bidder. Their undiſciplined paſſions would hoiſt them above all reſtraint, and precipitate them into every exceſs. And what is ſtill more ſeriouſly to be dreaded, every motion they made, however whimſical or atrocious, would then become irreſiſtible from their number. The general fermentation occaſioned by a ſcene thus tumultuous and formidable, muſt inevitably interfere with all our habits of laborious induſtry, and ſooner or later annihilate every reſtriction impoſed, for the eſtabliſhment and ſecurity of peace and good order.

Suppoſing this popular project liable to none of theſe alarming conſequences, does it perfectly accord with the form and genius of our conſtitution? A conſideration peculiarly worthy of their attention, who arrogate the ſole prerogative of defending Britiſh liberty on conſtitutional grounds, and pique themſelves on an excluſive attachment to a government of King, Lords and Commons. Is it not very generally allowed and known, that the chief excellence of our monarchy,

conſiſts in the exquiſite preciſion, by which all its parts are ballanced and formed to act reciprocally, as checks on the operations and tendencies of each other? Our nobles, who conſtitute the Houſe of Lords, from high birth, great eſtates, illuſtrious connections, and peculiar privileges, as peers of parliament and hereditary counſellors of the crown, might ſooner or later monopolize the whole power of the ſtate, and reduce it to a perfect ariſtocracy; but that it is the intereſt of the King to detach them from the Commons, on the one hand, and of the Commons, to prevent their ſinking into mere abject vaſſals or tools of prerogative, on the other. The influence of the crown, inceſſantly extending itſelf on all ſides, by variety of new expedients, occaſional boards, and other incidental encroachments, betrays a ſimilar tendency, but for the reſtrictions ariſing from the two other branches of the legiſlature. And is no danger to be apprehended to any of theſe ſtates, from that popular bias which has always diſtinguiſhed the Houſe of Commons? The purity of our liberties

and

and conſtitution, conſiſts in preſerving the reſpective powers of theſe three principles, diſtinct and independent. It is in the reſult of their union and co-operation only, that we are politically free; that we owe no obedience but to the laws; that every man who can command a livelihood is his own maſter; and that our property and lives are ſtill our own.

The rights of petitioning, modified as it has often and lately been, is, notwithſtanding, a moſt ineſtimable privilege, enjoyed by no people on earth but ourſelves, and ſupplies, in ſome degree, whatever defects may adhere to our preſent mode of repreſentation. Multiply electors on the principles of the reform now demanded, and inſtead of throwing new blood into the veins of the body politic, you exhauſt its vitals, by depriving it of thoſe powers, who cheriſh it by their care, and ſtrengthen it by their exertions. The daring experiment has been tried. And then all the functions of government were uſurped by a bloody conſpiracy, who in a deſperate

conflict with executive authority prevailed, as they will again whenever a similar attempt is made. And ill does he deſerve the name of a man, much leſs of an Engliſhman and a Chriſtian, who would not, with every thing dear to him on earth, reſiſt whatever leads in the remoteſt degree, to ſuch a cataſtrophe; who is not prepared from the deepeſt conviction of what he owes to his king and country, to exert his beſt faculties in their defence; and who does not think it his bounden duty to be conſtantly on watch, for detecting and refuting the enemies of both? "It is "good," ſaith Lord Bacon, "not to try "experiments in ſtates, except the neceſ-"ſity be urgent; or the utility be evi-"dent; and well to beware, that it be "the reformation that draweth on the "change, and not the deſire of change "that pretendeth the reformation."

# DISCOURSE FIFTH.

## ENGLISH MONARCHY.

*Verſatility—Foreign contraſted with domeſtic politics*—Britiſh policy—*Our ſituation—Liberties—Laws—Rank—National happineſs*—State expenditure and inſignia—*Equality—Taxes—Public credit—Economy—Penſion liſt—Patronage—Place—Pageantry—Monarchy—The monarch.*

FICKLENESS of temper, is the certain badge of a debilitated intellect. No ſtrong mind was ever noted for verſatility, to veer with the wind, or ſwim with the ſtream. Succeſsful reſiſtance is the attribute of ſtrength, and ſteady perſeverance of patience and wiſdom. He only who is ſatisfied with a ſuperficial view of things; who ſeldom thinks, or thinks but weakly, looſely, or partially; whoſe mind is not ſuitably prepared, ſupplied with proper information, furniſhed with a competent ſhare of ſound principles, or but ſlightly impreſſed with the magnitude and

worth of what is at ſtake, can be ſuch a dupe to novelty, as would induce him to ſacrifice certainty for hope, or what he actually enjoys, for what he does not even foreſee, or much leſs expect.

Change, is a ſituation which can be agreeable to none but ſuch as are ill at eaſe, and have little comfort at home and abroad; not in uniſon with themſelves or others, not ſatisfied either with perſons or things in their preſent order; plagued with feeble minds and diſtempered hearts; or look for nothing from what is, or can be loſers from what may be, as any alteration can better, and none make worſe.

Who, of any ſenſe, or wiſdom, or worth, would form the leaſt connection with individuals thus reduced, depraved, wretched, and deſperate? Their company is irreputable, their principles hollow, their vices infectious, their paſſions fiery, their language menacing, their manners ferocious, their intrigues dark and perfidious, and their lives proſtituted and proſcribed.

Who does not regret to find ſo frightful a picture of our common nature, ſo ſhockingly

ingly realized even among our enemies! What a horrible reverſe has happened to that unhappy people! But yeſterday all the world were proud to mimic their folly. Already, the univerſe is in arms to deſtroy them! With ſuch rapidity have they ruſhed from one extreme to another; from dutiful ſubjects to arrogant uſurpers; from ſycophants to tyrants; from fribbliſh coxcombs to fierce republicans; and from philoſophers to barbarians.

See them riding on the high places of the earth, and the more power they poſſeſs ſtill graſping and grappling for more; ſcaling, at all hazards, the ſlippery ſteeps of ambition, and treading on the necks of multitudes, to gratify pride, or glut revenge; ſupplanting by treachery, or diſplacing by murder, whoever ſtands in their way; demoliſhing all thoſe mounds, which have hitherto bounded the fierceſt propenſities of popular uſurpation; and, having ſacrificed, at this unhallowed ſhrine, humanity, friendſhip, honour, and all the

beſt virtues and regards of the heart; tumbled; or tumbling headlong from their ſtations, unlamented victims of their own villainy, and trampled under the feet of others, as rapacious, as implacable and as bloody as themſelves.

Alas! what ſavage and hideous creatures are men made, by following the brutal impulſe of barbarous and carnal paſſions! Theſe are they, who would turn the world upſide down; give us confuſion for order; allegiance, not to legitimate authority, but the madneſs of the people; libertiniſm for religion, falſhood for truth; and having alienated the minds of their unfortunate fellow creatures from all ſenſe of duty to God or man, leave them victims of popular diſtraction, without liberty or law, abandoned of all human and divine protection, the mutual enemies and aſſaſſins of each other.

The following idea of anarchy is from the immortal Dean Swift, and has been literally verified in every particular, by theſe innovators.

vators. "An uſurping populace is its "own dupe; a mere undertaker, and a "purchaſer on truſt, for ſome ſingle ty- "rant whoſe ſtate and power they advance "to their own ruin, with as blind an in- "ſtinct as thoſe worms, that die with "weaving magnificent habits for beings of "a ſuperior nature to their own."

Theſe ſcenes are barely ſtated for recalling our attention to thoſe at home, which we ſtill fortunately occupy, and which, form ſuch a ſtriking contraſt, as may well make every Briton proud. Our beſt bleſſings, however, are ſeldom duly prized, but when too late, or in the experience of their loſs, we recollect what they were, deplore their abſence from the ſufferings it occaſions, and regard with deep regret what once we might have enjoyed, but are ours no longer. The miſeries of others is the beſt glaſs in which to contemplate our felicity. In their diſaſter we recognize with complacency our own ſafety. Otherwiſe we are apt to forget the pleaſant place in which our lot hath fallen,

and

and the goodly heritage conſigned to our care. By ſliding inſenſibly into the poſſeſſions of ſo much enjoyment, and ſeeing all about us, as happy as ourſelves, our ſituation with all its valuable privileges, ſeems natural, and excites as little gratitude as wonder. All things with us are nearly as we have always found them. Some alterations may have happened as much for the better, at leaſt, as the worſe. But any little attention they attract from their ſettled and uniform appearance, is merely temporary and incidental; and chiefly perhaps to growl at authority, execrate exaction, vent the ſpleen of the moment, or bear our part in popular clamour. The duty of viewing them with ſteady ſentiments of ſerious and deliberate conſideration, and much more of an intereſt and attachment proportionate to their worth; is ſeldom felt, and never with ſuch an impreſſive energy, as while one of the greateſt nations on earth, contiguous to us, our very rival in arts, arms, literature, and empire,

empire, and always heaving in view, exhibits to the whole world one vaſt ſpectacle of public and private deſolation.

But of Engliſh monarchy, the ultimatum of political ſagacity, the patriotiſm of centuries ſubſtantiated, the collected experiments of ſtateſmen, matured and adopted as principles of action; my intention is not to attempt any think like technical analyſis. It does not, however, require much acquaintance with moſt governments, which now make the greateſt figure in the world, by the faireſt and moſt minute compariſon, to infer the ſuperior excellence which has ſo long and univerſally diſtinguiſhed ours. In fact, it were eaſy to ſhew, in detail, that the Britiſh conſtitution is throughout more exquiſitely and completely organized; that all its operations, and the whole routine of buſineſs they ſuppoſe and occaſion, have more publicity; that it is better calculated to appreciate the reſources of the community, and direct its whole collected ſtrength, with moſt effect in its own defence; that it attaches and concenters

centers the general attention more excluſively and preciſely on the conduct of its agents, and the drift of its agencies; that the direction of the whole multifarious machine implicates more ſtrict and unequivocal reſpoſibility, in all with whom its principle movements are entruſted; and that all the purpoſes of civil ſociety are more perfectly obtained, and more effectually ſecured by this, than any other political eſtabliſhment, of which, we have the leaſt accurate conception.

But without entering on an inveſtigation thus delicate and laborious, delightful, inſtructive, and inviting as the ſubject may be; it is enough for our preſent purpoſe, to ſpecify, as conciſely as poſſible, ſuch outlines of the ſyſtem only, as are moſt on a level with common obſervation, and for that reaſon, beſt accommodated to impreſs the minds of my readers and my own, with a deep ſenſe of its peculiar worth and importance. Some of the leading objections now in vogue, which faſhionable frenzy have lately ſuggeſted, and circulated with fanatical aſſiduity to its prejudice, may after-

afterwards be conſidered. For ſuch is one of the reigning abſurdities, which characteriſe this paradoxical age, that our higheſt privileges are not only treated with neglect, but the very exiſtence of the moſt dear and intereſting, is by many ſeverely conteſted.

## *BRITISH POLICY.*

Glorious things have been ſpoken by the moſt renowned foreigners, as well as many illuſtrious natives, of our political eſtabliſhment, both as a theory formed on the trueſt philoſophical principles, and a ſyſtem of practice, not accommodated for occaſional experiment or temporary convenience only, but for the permanent uſes of life, and to meet as far as human prudence and foreſight can, all the exigencies of ſociety. And all the world have been unanimous in admiring that conſummate wiſdom, by which its component parts are adjuſted, aid and controul each other; which diffuſes a ſpirit of accuracy and preciſion through all

all its arrangements, and which gives ſtability and vigour to that regular ſubordination and diſtinction of rank, on which ſo much of its excellence and efficiency depends.

The freedom we enjoy, does not make us all equal, but ought to render us all happy and contented, as it commands the approbation of all who have clear heads and good hearts, honeſty, virtue, or common ſenſe; and is alike diſtant from ſlaviſh ſubjection to arbitrary power and popular outrage. We muſt not indulge our inordinate deſires and lawleſs appetites, or arrogate a licence to make ourſelves or others wretched, but may purſue our own intereſt and inclination by whatever means beſt ſuit our taſte and convenience, conſiſtent with ſocial order and the laws of the land. A policy which hits the true medium, between abſolute monarchy the parent of oppreſſion, and democracy the ſource of confuſion; fixes by inſuperable limitations, the prerogatives of the crown, and the claims of the people; permits us neither

ther to break our allegiance on every abuſe of power, nor tamely ſurrender our rights; promotes by every wiſe and efficient regulation, what is the true end, and ought to be the principal aim of every political inſtitution, the genuine proſperity of the whole; and eſtabliſhes by the beſt poſſible proviſions, as great a latitude as we can enjoy, or it becomes us to wiſh in religious as well as civil liberty.

Bleſſed be the diſpoſition of that good Providence who hath fixed the bounds of our habitation in the boſom of a friendly ocean, which keeps us aloof from the reſt of the world, the dreadful ſhock of hoſtile invaſion, and all thoſe nameleſs horrors, which have ſo long perturbed the oppoſite ſhore. Even while parties in a deſperate war, the battle rages not at our gates! Our fields are not ſtained with blood, nor our ſtreets glutted with carnage! The labour of the huſbandman, mechanic, and manufacturer, meet with no interruption! Our lives are ſafe, and our dwellings ſecure! Whatever we earn or inherit is our own, to keep, to ſpend,

or

or to beſtow, as we pleaſe! In proportion as invention ſucceeds, diligence gathers, or prudence improves, we may be juſt as happy as abundance and beneficence, a quiet mind, and an inoffenſive life, can make us. Nothing is required of any but to do their duty, to cultivate habits of accommodation with the frailties of each other, and to perſevere in the exerciſe of mutual good offices.

Of all privileges conferred on the ſpecies by a liberal and well eſtabliſhed policy, good government muſt the greateſt and moſt deſirable, becauſe, without this we actually poſſeſs none. It protects the weak and defenceleſs from the outrages of the ſtrong and armed. It ſhields the innocent and peaceable from the machination of the crafty and violent. It ſanctions all our lawful enjoyments, by combining and exerting, for their defence and ſecurity, all the reſources of the moſt conſummate policy. It is like a fruitful ſeaſon in a temperate ſoil. The bleſſings it ſpontaneouſly yields are in uniſon with all our native ſentiments of freedom. It is, to uſe the words of an ancient

ancient king, as *the light of the morning when the ſun riſeth, even a morning without clouds.*

No form of ſociety can be wiſe and good, but in proportion as it is adapted to the welfare of the whole, and extends protection to every individual member by the united ſtrength and wiſdom of all. Such are the ample proviſions of ours, that the will of every one is conſulted in whatever the general will agrees to be the ſtandard for all. We truſt the important functions of legiſlation with none, but men whoſe intereſts are the ſame with ours. And theſe men, whatever be their ſtation, their wealth, or their inclinations, have no means of oppreſſing others and exempting themſelves, or of making us ſlaves without ſurrendering their own freedom.

What contrivance or work of imperfect agents can be altogether blameleſs? It is in the very eſſence of our government to correct whatever faults and abuſes may impede its ſalutary influence, or abridge the advantages, its principles are formed

to produce. All the grievances we are now ſaid to ſuffer, and which are alſo ſaid to inſtigate a ſpirit of general reſentment added to the experience of others, ſuppoſed, collected, or even magnified, are trivial indeed, compared with the preſent exiſting miſeries of our republican neighbours; who, notwithſtanding their victories, their triumphs, their decrees, and conventions, have only raiſed a barbarous faction on the ruins of a poliſhed court, and aboliſhed one ſyſtem of deſpotiſm for another, which, as it has begun, may perhaps alſo, expire, in a ſcene of carnage.

How eaſy and grateful is obedience to free government, and loyalty to a prince limited by law! Who would not cheerfully pay allegiance where every conſideration of duty and right, our own intereſt and happineſs, direct it ſhould be paid? And what obligations are we not all under, to riſque our lives and properties in preſerving a conſtitution, ſo well faſhioned for the ſafety and maintenance of whatever is deareſt to us, ſo competent to ſupply

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our wants, to inſure our independence, to encourage our beſt exertions, and to form on every critical emergency an illuſtrious and impregnable phalanx of patriotic ſtateſmen and heroes, round the ſacred palladium of our rights?

This glorious ſyſtem, ſo happily calculated for all the ends of an equitable and free government, though conſummated by the wiſdom of ages, repeatedly eſtabliſhed and authenticated by the ſtruggles of a virtuous anceſtry, and tranſmitted, at the expence of whatever they could effect or endure in their bodies, eſtates, and connections, as a ſacred depoſit to their poſterities for ever; in this barbarous æra of political empericiſm and experiment, has fallen into ſome degree of diſrepute, and is deemed inadequate to the liberty of any, becauſe incapable of ſubſtantiating the wiſhes and whims of all.

All men, in all the various ranks and ſituations of life, are equally under the laws of the land, and have the ſame right of appeal to their deciſion. They have

long been our privilege and our boaſt for their rectitude and publicity, the protection they afford to our perſons, the ſtability they give to property, and the peculiar vigilance with which they guard and eſtabliſh all our legitimate claims. They originate in the beſt principles of reaſon and morality, and may be conſidered as an extention only, or illuſtration, of an immutable diſtinction ſubſiſting in all caſes between right and wrong. They are made with their conſent, who are moſt deeply intereſted in rendering them perfect and preſerving them inviolate. Their adaption to the object is wiſe and provident, the diſpenſation of them is pure and impartial, and their accordance with our manners and utility in our ſervice, are confirmed by experience. They aſcertain the meaſures of authority and the motives of ſubmiſſion, reſtrain the ambition of men in office, and their licentiouſneſs, who regard them with envy or diſlike, and give ample ſcope to do good, but none to do ill. They diveſt us of no natural liberty, but ſuch as is unimportant,

portant, and preſerve to us, its full enjoyment in other inſtances more valuable. They put our very ſenſes under controul, that our minds may operate at eaſe, and check, in ſome inſtances, our paſſions, that reaſon and intellect may triumph. Life, and the neceſſaries it requires, not incompatible with public good, mere ſpeculative opinions, not ſuggeſted by ill deſigns; the liberal uſe of our faculties, not inſidiouſly directed; the claims of conſcience, not arrogating the prerogative of dictating to others; are immunities, our legiſlature holds inviolable, and neither uſurps nor ſuffers on any account to be uſurped.

But while we do our duty, keep within our own ſphere, execute the taſk aſſigned us, and interfere not with the buſineſs or inclinations of others, we ſhall find its protection ſufficiently powerful againſt every degree of inſult, injury, or oppreſſion. Whether it be high or low, important from the weight, or inſignificant from the want of property, with friends or without them, engaged in the moſt extenſive or

trivial, the moſt conſpicuous or obſcure purſuits; we repoſe with confident tranquillity, in the boſom of the laws, which embrace and guard the whole of ſociety alike. Theſe are our ſafety in danger, our redreſs in ſuffering, and our encouragement in well doing. In obeying them, we acquit ourſelves to the ſatisfaction, not of others only, but our own hearts. We are then where we ſhould be, in our own place, about our own work, on our own premiſes, and who among the weak or ſtrong, the low or the great, can harm us? Whoever has the audacity to intrude on our peace, violates at the ſame time, the peace of all. He does it ignorantly, he does it wantonly, and he does it at his peril.

Our neceſſities drive us to ſociety as an aſylum, and keep us in it. Nor do we ever conſult their ſupply ſo effectually, as by contributing our utmoſt in ſupporting an eſtabliſhment, eſſential to our comfort. Hunger, nakedneſs, and ſhelter from inclement ſkies, occaſion ſuch an hoſt of wants,

wants, as impel us to cultivate the mutual exchange of all we can do for each other. But it is only under her foſtering care, by her various members fitted for various operations, and where ſome lead and others follow, ſome deviſe and others execute, ſome command and others obey; requiſitions ſo innumerable and indiſpenſable, can be immediately ſubſtantiated; or work thus neceſſary, efficiently performed.

Our perſons, properties, and the fruit of our labour, thus perfectly and happily ſecure, under an order which effectually reſtrains all violence, fraud, and injuſtice; we actually enjoy every advantage ſociety can afford. Wiſe and neceſſary regulations, for aſcertaining and protecting us in full poſſeſſion of this ſituation are deviſed and propoſed, from time to time, by individuals bred and qualified by nature and education, and enabled by the community, to occupy all their time and talents in the public ſervice. Others alſo, properly accompliſhed, are ſelected and inveſted with competent authority, for put-

ting them in execution, and rendering them adequate to the ends in view. In both exigencies, which are more or leſs inſeparable from all ſocieties, we trace the origin of ſenators and lawgivers, magiſtrates and ſubjects.

We all feel a mighty propenſity in particular ſituations, to deviate from right. A bias to what is wrong, ſeems inherent to our nature. Self love and irregular paſſions, are ſources of a thouſand partialities, which habitually abuſe and miſlead us. To prevent the inconveniencies of this ſiniſter principle in the colliſions of ſociety, and that the injured may not be left to decide in their own cauſe, or redreſs their own grievances, judges, competent for the buſineſs, are appointed and empowered to pronounce on the reſpective claims of all parties, and ſo circumſtanced, as to be abſolutely above all temptation of acting from any bias or partiality to either.

The welfare of ſociety requires ſuch a diſtribution of authority, as is capable of defending it againſt every kind and degree of

of foreign and domeſtic violence. The ſame worthleſs paſſions and views, which inſtigate individuals to moleſt and oppreſs one another, fire independent nations with ſentiments of animoſity, and inſtigate them to acts of mutual aggreſſion. No ſtate can be ſafe or quiet, where ſufficient force is not always at hand, to ſupport good order within, and repel every attempt from without, to diſturb it. This opens a wide field of emulation, for all men of genius and enterpriſe, to excel in all the departments of naval and military ſcience. And they who raiſe themſelves to eminence, by an honeſt diſcharge of duty, or the diſplay of ſuperior abilities in this hard and perilous ſervice, are ſurely well intitled to rank among the firſt order of citizens, and participate in the higheſt diſtinctions and emoluments the public can beſtow.

Various are the contradictory intereſts and concerns, which embroil and imbitter human life, by exciting and inflaming the cupidities and reſentments of ignorant and low-bred minds. Inſtitutions for public inſtruction,

inſtruction, in the great rules of morality and the ſolemn duties of religion, are conſequently indiſpenſable. The primary direction of theſe, is entruſted with men of conſequence in literature and rank, whoſe perſonal piety and merit, render them venerable and confidential, and who conſtitute one of the three eſtates in parliament, not only for guarding the rights of the church againſt all encroachment, but alſo to repreſent her ſettled reſpectability in the hearts of the community at large, by their preſence, that the deeds of the legiſlature may derive a certain degree of ſanctity and general acceptance from her acquieſcence, and that in one place and one view, there may always be a viſible reſponſibility for the diſcretion of her miniſters, and the effects of her miniſtry. Our hierarchy conſidered in no higher light, than making part, in this manner, of our civil eſtabliſhment, diſcovers through its whole arrangement and ſubordination, ſuch a fullneſs of wiſdom and utility, as abundantly juſtifies the ſuperior degree of preference

ence and complacency, with which it has been ſo long and warmly cheriſhed by the people of England.

Public proſperity ariſes not ſo much from propitious conjunctures and favourable emergencies, as from ſuggeſtions of ingenuity and the exertions of induſtry. The former are temporary and accidental, the latter permanent and inexhauſtible ſources of national aggrandiſement. By whatever means, avocations, or purſuits improvements are then realized, fortunes made or families eſtabliſhed, advantage accrues to the country and reputation to individuals. The community is never ſo truly glorious, great, and reſpectable, as when ſhe moſt abounds in members, who beſt conſult their own fame and emolument, by thus promoting hers. And her indulgence cannot be more meritoriouſly enjoyed, or her honours more gracefully worn, than by men who have ſerved her ſo well, and to whom ſhe owes ſo much.

When men ſuſtain ſuch exalted ſtations with ſuitable dignity and worth, all derive

rive advantage from the diſplay of ſo much patriotiſm, and have an intereſt in its iſſue and reward. Example even of the beſt actions has little or no influence, but as it tends to gratify paſſion or facilitate enjoyment. For this reaſon, abilities exerted in the cauſe of juſtice and benevolence, we naturally reſpect and eſteem, contemplate and recommend them with ſenſible complacency, and treat all poſſeſſed of them, eſpecially in any remarkable degree, with peculiar courteſy and applauſe.

On this obvious principle, all ſocieties, and none more than ours, are forward to load ſuch patriots, as their beſt benefactors, with every mark of honourary diſtinction, to connect their tranſcendent virtues with trophies of general approbation, and to enable them, for having deſerved ſo well of their country, to live at her expence with comfort and ſplendour. This is the willing tribute of unanimous gratitude in a whole people, conſecrated for tranſmiſſion to poſterity, as a ſacred document of that popular eſtimation, in which every

every inſtance of public ſpirit is uniformly held. And what are all the pompous inſignia of ſtate, which emblazon the reſpective functionaries in our complex government, which diſcriminate the various ranks in civilized life, and which multitudes in ſubordinate ſtations ſo little underſtand and ſo generally miſconſtrue, but ſymbols of that divine incenſe, which every where towers to Heaven, in commemoration of illuſtrious merit?

Who can eſtimate or deſcribe the aggregate benefit, which originates in the different turns of different minds, rouſed and drawn into exerciſe and utility, by the ſeveral motions and ſprings of the political machine, in which all bear a part, and to the genius and tendency of which, all are, more or leſs, formed and aſſimilated? Nor is their happineſs, who ſucceed in any meaſure, impeded or impaired, by ſeeing their friends, acquaintance, and fellow citizens, fired by ſimilar emulation, purſuing, with equal ardour and expectancy, the avenues which open around them, and promiſe

miſe either opulence or reputation. In whatever circles they move, occupations follow, ſcience explore, or arts employ; under the ſame inſtitutions, which inſure the proſperity of one, all are intitled to protection. Every man who has a family to ſupport, or children to ſettle, who wiſhes well to his fellow creatures, or has the good of his country at heart, or ſenſibility and benevolence enough to eſpouſe, with earneſtneſs and activity, the cauſe of the friendleſs, and thoſe who have none to help them, muſt regard the proviſions of our conſtitution, with acknowledgement and exultation. All thoſe kindred ties which link our affections together, melt us with ſympathy for the ſufferings of each other, and even fill us with a lively ſenſe of their joys who are always happy, make ours the politics of the heart, and give us ſuch a concern in their energy and perpetuity, as can only ceaſe when our beſt feelings are extinct, and no longer intereſt us in the welfare of all we love or eſteem on earth.

Men

Men in elevated ſtations, in the liberal profeſſions, in poſſeſſion of hereditary fortunes, or fortunes acquired by care, or ſkill, or labour, may not ſhare in manual exertion in manufacture, in trade, or in huſbandry. They are not, therefore, either ill or uſeleſsly employed. Almoſt every ſcience and every art, are ſtill ſuſceptible of much cultivation. Succeſſive illumination is always requiſite, to keep the world intelligent. Juſtice muſt alſo be diſpenſed, the law interpreted, peace maintained, youth inſtructed, weak minds admoniſhed, and the functions of public piety ſuſtained. Theſe very important uſes, are all anſwered by our public and private ſeminaries of letters and philoſophy. Though none of theſe individuals, work in mechanics, till the land, gather or prepare our proviſions, augment the quantity of our ſaleable commodities, or help to ſtock our markets, by ſwelling the aggregate of labour, which is ſaid to be the riches of the whole, their exertions, whether of mind or body, are yet of equal, if not of greater conſequence

to

to the community. They explore new ſources of knowledge, new channels of wealth, and new arts of utility or accommodation. By an adroit application of quantity, number, experience, obſervation, hiſtory, matter, and ſpirit, they are capacitated to diſcover the moſt needful truths, to reſcue our nature and race, from ſuperſtition and barbariſm, to enlarge our faculties and expand our hearts, to ſoften our tempers and dignify our manners.

Thus our unequal conditions in life, ariſe not from any partial and arbitrary diſtinction, but are the natural and common reſult of ſociety on our peculiar aptitudes and genius, our ſtrength of intellect, our degree of taſte, our capacity for the reception and application of facts and intelligence, our habits of accommodation or auſterity, our docility or ſtupidity. This diverſity is the life of ſociety, and ſtamina of all the variegated excellence to which ſhe arrives. It alſo informs us, how much we depend on one another, and the endleſs acceſſions of felicity to be obtained, by our reciprocal

cal endeavours. And it ſenſibly inhances the value we entertain for one another, enlivens our mutual eſteem, and draws and improves our affections and attachments into cloſer bands of union and concord.

Titles of honour, places of profit, ſituations of confidence, and all the indulgencies of ſuperiority and diſtinction, are occaſionally proſtituted: but that renders them not either uſeleſs or unneceſſary. What human excellence is not tarniſhed, what privilege not abuſed, what enjoyment not leſſened by mortal imperfection? But we muſt not argue that, becauſe things are improperly applied, they are of no uſe, or that rendering them inſtruments of evil, is a proof, they are capable of no good. Can it be a juſt reaſon againſt the cultivation of virtue, that there is ſo much vice in the world? Is it not more logical to conclude, that the leſs we find of the one, the more ought we to oppoſe and proſcribe the other?

Happy, incomparable country! while we, who have the diſtinguiſhed honour

of inhabiting thee, know, and feel, and have a proper value for, our own happineſs, and are ſuitably diſpoſed, from a grateful ſenſe of our bleſſings, to cheriſh and preſerve it, at all hazards, inviolate! Hail beſt of iſlands, bleſt with public proſperity and domeſtic quiet; flouriſhing in learning and abounding in plenty; temperate in thy climate, fertile in thy ſoil, and fruitful in thy ſeaſon; the refuge of innocence when wronged, and of the helpleſs when oppreſſed; to the ſtranger and friendleſs kind and hoſpitable; and to the outcaſt and indigent, humane and munificent; the terror of uſurpers, the ſcourge of traitors; the impregnable refuge of legitimate freedom and undefiled religion; the ſeat of ſcience and philoſophy, nurſe of all the liberal and polite arts, patroneſs of merit, empreſs of the ſea, and ſupreme arbitreſs of Europe, the treaſury of the world, and the great emporium of trade and commerce to the univerſe! Safe in laws, which have no tendency but public juſtice and private right; ſafe in a monarch, who is

happy

happy to be the gracious father of a loyal people; and ſafe in a numerous royal race, who, imitating the wiſdom and inheriting the patriotiſm of their illuſtrious anceſtors, may tranſmit our incomparable immunities with accumulated improvement and increaſing purity, to future generations!

## *STATE EXPENDITURE AND INSIGNIA.*

No group of human creatures, in any habits of mutual accommodation, ever appeared in a ſtate perfectly equal. They muſt then be all of a ſize, alike in age and ſtrength, and poſſeſſed of talents, taſtes, and tempers altogether ſimilar. Nature at leaſt gives no ſuch archetype among any claſs of gregarious animals. And fruitleſs for ever muſt the reſearch of thoſe be, who look for it, in the rudeſt or moſt civilized condition of human ſociety. We may as well expect to find rivers without fountains, fruit without trees, children without

parents, and bodies without heads. And it is juſt as true in politics as in poetry.

Whoever thinks a faultleſs ſtate to ſee,
Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er ſhall be.

The head of the body natural receives from the working and debilities of the ſtomach, all thoſe vapours which diſeaſe its vitals and corrupt its whole maſs. The leaders of faction in like manner, derive that power from their followers and abettors, which at once enables and impels them to do miſchief. In no nation and no emergency whatever, did the lower orders, mechanics, handicrafts, manufacturers, labourers, ſervants, or the great aggregate of our peaſantry, ever conſpire againſt government from their own voluntary emotions. The multitude is always blind, and right or wrong muſt be led. They are often enough ſaddled with a violent party, and prepoſterouſly dragged in, to bolſter up its tottering intereſt, or

to

to weaken and fruſtrate by oppoſition and uproar the influence of a miniſter. They, notwithſtanding, keep up their conſequence with all ſides, by the eager ſolicitude of each, in their turn, to monopolize their favour or command their preference. A torrent is mighty which ever way it runs, but muſt follow its level, which, for that reaſon it will always find. And all to whom Providence, art, affluence, or maſterly capacities, delegate the management of popular predilection or diſlike, muſt be reſponſible for its effects. Alas! that theſe temporary and temporizing jugglers, who preſide over the lion's den and live by the diſpoſal of its terrors; ſhould ſo frequently ſerve their country, as the ſun ſometimes does the earth, by exhaling a plenitude of vapour only, to return it in torrents of rain, or ſtorms of thunder and lightening.

'But, in truth, all the nonſenſe and abſurdity implied in the doctrine of equality, is now become actually ſhocking to common ſenſe as well as the good ſenſe, of the

whole nation. Whoever is ſtronger or only bolder, has more ſkill, better addreſs, or is happier in ſoothing the tempers, conciliating the affections, or compoſing the differences of others, will, in every condition of ſociety, and among every ſet of men, be above his neighbours. And he who knows himſelf to be inferior in any, or all theſe reſpects, and repines becauſe he is, inſults, not the inſtitutions of ſociety, but the deſtinations of Providence.

It is, however, by none but men of this ſurly, faſtidious humour, that things are looked at only on one ſide; that by prejudice, irritation, and temerity, they ſee few or no objects correctly, that they habitually miſlead one another by falſe ideas, falſe information, and falſe reaſoning, that they contract and harbour a grudge againſt all to whom, and for whom, it is their bounden duty to be thankful; that they envy their proſperity who have the good fortune to live better than themſelves, have leſs debt, more credit, go finer, and fare not quite ſo hard as they do; that they eagerly ap-

applaud the vociferous ſallies of petulance and ill-nature, and join in the ſeditious ſneer of every factious incendiary, who miſtakes ribaldry for eloquence, rudeneſs for wit, and thinks himſelf competent to be miniſter of ſtate, becauſe he may poſſeſs a lion's lungs, a horſe's front, and an aſs's ſkin; a mouth always open, and always foul, and abundance of both vulgar attention and vulgar applauſe; that they utter the baſeſt libels and the groſſeſt invectives againſt every creature and every thing, we have been accuſtomed from our infancy to treat with reverence and delicacy; or obey with alacrity and affection; and that we are trained by the prevalence of ſyſtematic treaſon, and regularly prepared for outraging all order and form, whenever the fatal ſignal of mutual perfidy and general diſcord is given.

It is, notwithſtanding, a general and perhaps a juſt opinion, that individuals of this teſty and diſſatisfied ſtate of mind, ill deſerve to be otherwiſe placed than they are; that few among them at leaſt would

be better or happier for either poſſeſſing more riches or more power; and that ſuch as are above them actually employ their ſituations, capacities, and advantages much more to the general benefit, than they could do. Such a metamorphoſis were too violent to be either acceptable or uſeful. They are certainly no great acceſſion to human comfort, for whom life aſſumes the ſhape of a jig, that they may be ſeen like harlequins, not riſing by gentle gradations, but dancing with gigantic levity, and in a ſort of intoxication from the bottom to the top of ſociety. Few have either heads or hearts capable of a tranſition from inſignificance to power, or from want to plenty, thus ſudden and precipitant. The accident is in perpetual occurrence, and all are aware of its conſequences. It is a ſcene, whether public or private, every way unnatural, and always teems with moniſters.

While the empire had no public debt, no foreign dependencies or allies, no ſtanding armies, no mercenaries, and no naval eſtabliſhment, little taxation was neceſſary

or

or took place. Our merchant ſhips were then uſed for war, as now for tranſports; the country depended for protection on its inſular ſituation, and on emergencies, troops were raiſed only for a few weeks, and, for the moſt part, maintained at their own expence. Moſt land at that time belonged to the crown, and the crown derived a large proportion of its revenues from feudal conditions and requiſites. Theſe, though not levied as taxes now are, were ſtill more oppreſſive, and occaſioned as much clamour. And their exchange for the impoſitions of modern times, is both more conſonant to the preſent ſtate of things, and better adapted to the capacity of the ſubject; and no more than a ſmall premium required or exacted by government, for an inſurance of life and property.

Our taxes are, therefore, not ſo grievous as is often given out, when the reſources we have for paying them, are properly conſidered. All the advantages we enjoy, and to whatever degree we can avail

avail ourſelves of the opportunities afforded us to riſe in the world, or increaſe the ſphere of perſonal eaſe and indulgence, are more than equivalent for all we pay. All we poſſeſs, and all we hold dear in life, our eſtates, our wives, our children, our property, and whatever we regard as moſt valuable and precious, but for the legal protection we ſhare in common with others, would ſoon become a prey to the lawleſs and rapacious. Without taxes we could have no government whatever, the buſineſs of the nation could not go on, the laws could not be diſpenſed, the ſtate be ſupported, our navy kept up, or our armies paid, merit ſuitably encouraged, patriotiſm excited by our gratitude to the poſterity of ſuch as have done the public eminent ſervice, our debts diſcharged, our credit maintained, or our ſovereign, his family, or his ſervants, accommodated with that ſplendor and magnificence which their functions, conſequence, efficiency, and rank, in the ſyſtem, require.

We

We are but little aware what an enormous craſh would certainly be the iſſue of a general failure in our finances, or what is the ſame thing, a national bankruptcy? The whole machinery of our political eſtabliſhment, in all its multifarious departments, deprived of the power which keeps it in motion, would inſtantly fall to pieces. We ſhould then have no magiſtracy, ſupreme, or ſubordinate; no legiſlature, no laws, no juſtice, no maſter, no ſervants, no council, no agency. The barriers of perſonal ſafety, of private property, and of domeſtic quiet, would be all broke down. The Bank itſelf would be expoſed to plunder, the funds annihilated, and all the ſtock-holders and creditors of the nation ruſhing together, in its vicinity, could not help trampling one another to death in the extremity of their rage, their diſappointment, and their ruin!

We can indeed form no juſt conception of the complicated diſaſters which muſt be the conſequence of ſuch a tremendous ſhock. And, that we have not come to this

this *fearful end*, is owing to thoſe very taxes, which ſo much pains have been taken, to repreſent as odious and intolerable. But for the ſtrength of our revenue, this ſcene, ſo frightful and agonizing, even under the tranquil and pleaſing conviction of its never happening, muſt, notwithſtanding, have actually taken place. It is but fair, however, to indulge the candid and liberal preſentiment of our countrymen, that the loweſt and pooreſt among us, would rather continue indigent and have indigence entailed on them and theirs for ever, than aid or abet any kind of principles or projects likely to facilitate or favour this horrible cataſtrophe.

Who therefore can harbour any juſt umbrage againſt the payment of taxes, as taxes can no more be ſpared than the benign inſtitutions we live under, which they are raiſed and apportioned to preſerve, and which, without their ſupply, would ſuddenly diſſolve, *like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion*, and abandon us, in imitation of thoſe to whom we are indebted for much of the clamour

clamour we hear and moſt of the hazard we dread.

But the vulgar are inceſſant in the cry of *economy*. This is another watch-word among the abettors and miſſionaries of ſedition, and oftenеſt, perhaps, even in their mouths; who leaving their families to ſtarve, or get relief from the pariſh, indulge themſelves in convivial meetings, where they carry all their earnings, tipple and talk politics. Theſe are the exemplary inſtances of frugality which teach us to impeach our ſuperiors with an embezzlement of the public treaſure. But, may it not be reſpectfully aſked, what right, clubs of dependants, paupers, vagabonds and others without number or name, who run to the gin ſhop or beer tap, with every penny they get; have to arraign what they call national prodigality, or preſcribe retrenchments to their betters, of which they give ſuch ſhocking ſpecimens in their own conduct: though, by the way, the abſurdity is not greater to hear ſpendthrifts preach up parſimony than gluttons enjoin temperance,

or

or the drivers of ſlaves, as Dr. Johnſon ſays, yelp for liberty.

The penſion liſt, with many, is alſo a ſource of the ſame inflammatory preſumption. To talk of unmerited penſions, ſavours ſtrongly of impertinence. It arraigns at leaſt without proof, and condemns unheard. The ſuppoſition that the public confidence is abuſed, by a proſtitution of its bounty, is likewiſe groſs. On this account to ſtrike off, or only curtail any hitherto regularly paid, in the habits of depending on which, ſeveral reſpectable families are bred, and which, one way or other, have been dearly earned, by perſonal, or anceſtral merit in moſt who receive them, would be clenching the ſtrings of the public purſe with the gripe of a miſer, and impeaching the nation with a parſimony at once cruel and iniquitous. Many of theſe penſions are ſaid moreover to have been ſold, mortgaged or transferred in ſuch a complicated manner, that they have acquired all the legal formalities of ſettled property, and cannot be reclaimed but by

purchaſe

purchaſe to variety of unimpeachable individuals, who have attained them in the moſt honourable manner, and enjoy them on the beſt of all poſſible terms, *value received.* Theſe perſons and families whoever they are, or have been thus honourably diſtinguiſhed, confide in the liberality and magnanimity of a great people, who, ſurely, could do nothing ſo little or ſo baſe, as either to diſpute their claims or betray their perſons.

Of the patronage inſeparably connected with place and power, much complaint has been made, by ſuch as do not well conſider its uſe. All the prerogatives of the crown, and all the various influence reſulting from the dependence of ſubordinate offices and officers, the magnitude and management of the funds, our navy and army, are ſeverally inſtituted for the good of the people, and eſſential to the due execution of public buſineſs. And, it is both our duty and intereſt, as Judge Blackſtone hath well obſerved, " to hope that we may " long, very long, continue to be governed " by

"by a ſovereign, who, in all thoſe public "acts that have perſonally proceeded from "himſelf, hath manifeſted the higheſt "veneration for the free conſtitution of "Britain; hath already, in more than one "inſtance, remarkably ſtrengthened its "outworks, and will, therefore, never "harbour a thought, or adopt a perſuaſion, "in any the remoteſt degree detrimental "to public liberty."

It has lately become the faſhion to declaim againſt the expenditure, and allege that the places, occupied by officers of ſtate, are too lucrative. But of this certainly our ſuperiors only can be competent judges. Rank, of ſome ſpecific deſcription, is eſſential to every form of civilization. And no rank can exiſt without equipage. But are all the various degrees of ſumptuary diſtinction, which prevail among thoſe in the moſt exalted and arduous ſtations, to be regulated by the deciſion of mechanics, coblers, tailors, weavers, and plebeians?

The

The detail, of high life, is but little underſtood, becauſe not much within the notice of ſuch as are confined by fortune or occupation to the humbler ſphere of ordinary avocations or manual labour.

Nor can we be aware of the indiſpenſable neceſſity of certain modes and cuſtoms, under particular circumſtances, on ſpecial occaſions, and in ſituations peculiarly critical and delicate. Perſons taught from infancy to indulge grand and liberal views, in all their collateral circumſtances, and reared amidſt the greateſt affluence and independence, could hardly exiſt on what others might deem luxury. And they can never be ſuppoſed to accept the toils of office, on the hard condition of relinquiſhing all former habits. We would not ſtrip the ſervants of the empire of her livery, or reduce them to bare allowance or board wages, like thoſe of ſome hard-hearted miſer, a ſpendthrift, or a beggar. "Malignity "and Envy," ſays Mr. Burke, "carve "much more deeply, and finiſh much

"more ſharply in the work of retrench-
"ment, than Frugality and Providence."

Our public truſtees for the preſent are ſurely not more prodigal than their predeceſſors, or take greater liberties with the treaſury than others, who might come after them. All men are nearly ſuſceptible alike of temptations, more or leſs inſeparable from the poſſeſſion of power or wealth. We had, therefore, better be contented with thoſe we know, than increaſe our riſk, by raſhly transferring our confidence to thoſe we know not.

The king, in his high office of ſupreme magiſtrate of the Britiſh empire, is entruſted by law, with the ſole executive authority. For ſupporting this exalted ſtation with that peculiar dignity and efficiency, which the great importance and object of it demands, he enjoys and exerts a variety of eminent prerogatives. He is not only diſtinguiſhed by all the ſtately exterior of majeſty, which draw the admiration of all who prefer outſide varniſh to intrinſic merit,

rit, and by large powers and emoluments, which ſupply his expenditure and form his revenue, but alſo by certain qualities, and attributes, eſſential to his royal character, as repreſenting the ſovereignty of a great people, and conſtituting his regal and monarchical capacity. And it is for performing the public buſineſs with competent efficiency, and maintaining in ſuitable ſtyle the proper ſplendour of a Britiſh monarch, that ſuch extenſive proviſions are made for his accommodation, and that his reſpectability and honour, as well as his perſonal ſafety and indulgence, are ſo magnificently conſulted.

But from political experiments and regenerations, ſo lately brought into faſhion, and extravagantly extolled by their fond admirers, as the very quinteſſence and ſummit of all human excellence, crowns, ſceptres, mitres, croſiers, ſtars, garters, ribbonds, all the varied trophies of honorary appellation, and all the emblems of monarchical diſtinction, are formally, and radically eraſed.

But may it not be aſked, in what ſtage of enlightened civilization or refinement, did ever ſociety exiſt in ſuch a form of abſolute ſimplicity? Our eyes, our ears, and all our ſenſes, improve as our minds expand, and ſcience is diffuſed, and are then as clamorous as our very appetites to be gratified. There is, conſequently, nothing among people who acknowledge any laws, or have been faſhioned into habits of civility by any eſtabliſhment perfectly natural, or altogether in its rude ſhape. Our clothes muſt be cut, our victuals dreſt, our tables covered, and even our attitudes, geſtures, and mutual attentions, all ſquared by ſome common ſtandard, of which all are aware, and to which, all tacitly, do homage. An equal predilection for ſuch a degree of decency, as is no more than a proper reſpect or deference for the general taſte, regulates all our perſonal accommodations, our furniture, our horſes, our domeſtics, and even our carriages, our plate, and our houſes.

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The ſame benign genius, with all the arts and graces in her train, aſcends from private to public elegance, models our very roads, our bridges, temples, theatres, palaces, villas, gardens, and cities. And he who would reduce the liberal expenditure of an extenſive and flouriſhing nation to the ſtingy driblets of avarice, argues from the ſame falſe and barbarous premiſes, which, fully extended, would annihilate all the emblems of authority as baubles; all inſignia of ſtate as folly; and all the etiquette of rank, as farcical.

Ill do theſe rough reformers requite the toils of genius in ſome of its happieſt exertions; and poor is the tribute of honour they would pay to the memories of men, who, by grandeur of deſign, and dexterity of execution, have rendered the country and age in which they lived, illuſtrious.

Theſe tinſelled minutiæ, and all the proviſions of pure imagination, they may rank with the trapping, "capariſons and "bells, which, by their gingle and ſhew, "induce," as Lord Auckland ſays, "a

" poor animal to jog on cheerfully under " a great load."—But the true philoſophic politician, who ſees nothing he does not explore and claſs, regards them as poſſeſſing a ſolid foundation in the great laws of arrangement, in that palpable accordance which nature hath eſtabliſhed between things and their circumſtances; in that union and proportion which pervade all the parts of one whole; and in thoſe feelings which are common to all men; and by which all are accuſtomed, more or leſs, to combine grace with magnificence, beauty with utility, and ſublimity with magnitude. Theſe are figures in relievo, or rather carved works finiſhed from time to time, by a ſucceſſion of curious artiſts and workmen, which not only embelliſh and adorn the auguſt edifice of the ſtate, but are ſo deeply inlaid, and ſo firmly twiſted with every fibre of its texture and frame, that to demoliſh, or tear them away, might ſhatter the whole fabric to its baſis, or ſhiver it, in one moment, into a thouſand fragments or ſplinters.

But

But let ſuch of our modern innovators, as would introduce this levelling ſyſtem, begin the ſweeping experiment, by an immediate and total relinquiſhment of all their own perſonal and relative luxuries, refinements and unneceſſary appendages. When they reſign their eaſe and property, as a ſacrifice to their principles, by honeſtly foregoing their own whims, their childrens toys, and their families trinkets, gems, and trophies; we may then think them in earneſt, and even expect them to diveſt architecture, likewiſe, of its ornaments, painting of its drapery, muſic of its accompaniments, office of its emblems, judges of their ermine, prieſts of their ſacerdotals, paupers of their badges, and every pariſh beadle of his gaudy coat, and laced hat.

Wo be to Engliſhmen if ever they become ſuch dupes to the miſerly ſurmiſes of a ſordid frugality, as grudge a beloved Monarch the ſplendours he now enjoys, or the magnificent eſtabliſhment ſo juſtly expected by all the branches of his illuſtrious family. To regard with any degree of

penurious ſeverity the liberal expenditure of our King, were highly repugnant to the munificent, and dignified genius of the country.

Generous Britons! Is it when age approaches with all its grim aſſociations; when infirmities gather ſtrength in proportion as that of nature decays; when cares accumulate as the proſpects of hope inſenſibly cloſe; when vulgar antipathy mutters in hollow murmurs its invidious malignity; when machinations, too black to be named, have been hatched and diſcloſed in all their turpitude and atrocity; and, even while the hands of our neighbours are yet red with the blood of royalty; that you would trench on your Sovereign's income, or impeach him with profuſion?

Of the civil liſt we have often heard, and daily hear much unfounded and unmeaning cenſure, as if the whole million were ſunk in ſupport of the court: but, ought we not to recollect what it is, its ends, its extent, and its out-goings. It defrays the whole charge of our civil government;

vernment; whatever belongs to the royal domeſtic eſtabliſhment, in all its departments, its attendance, its ſervants, its proviſions and equipage, her Majeſty's maintenance, all the ſalaries of the judges, officers of ſtate, and officers of the houſehold; the expence of foreign ambaſſadors at our court, and of ours abroad, the privy purſe, ſecret ſervice money, penſions and bounties of all kinds, and notwithſtanding the numerous objections made to the ſhape, it now aſſumes, by the narrow minded multitude, the ſums formerly granted in its ſtead; the limitations to which it is formally ſubjected, the revenues and prerogatives ſacrificed to its preſent form, and the very high increaſe in the value of money, ſufficiently ſhew that they are juſt as ill founded, as ill meant, and ill timed.

Little, alas! do they who would abridge the indulgence of a good king, reflect on the croſſes, the anxieties, and the perplexities, incident to the functions of his elevated

vated rank. What can be expected from man, who is frail and peccable, without ſome tincture of human imperfection? And the greater we think the taſk, the more palpably are we ſtruck with the incompetence of our common nature in the individual who performs it. In proportion therefore to the difficulty, it well becomes us to make every poſſible allowance for the diſcharge of duties thus delicate and conſpicuous. He cannot always do the good he would, prevent the evils he foreſees, or even avoid, on ſome occaſions, what he moſt diſlikes. He acts only by delegates, muſt depend on others for information, and is at liberty to do nothing without his council. And may not the beſt on earth, circumſtanced as he is, be miſled by the diſhoneſt, miſunderſtood by the crafty, or defeated in the moſt benevolent and patriotic intentions, by the weak or the wicked? Under the greateſt embarraſſments of government, he is always the firſt object of ſympathy and commiſeration, and the laſt of cenſure or diſreſpect, notwithſtanding

ing their culpable tergiverſation, whoſe affections cool, or whoſe loyalty is ſhaken by the leaſt apparent miſcarriages.

Does it not, even in our petty ſituations, require ſome addreſs to carry into effect whatever little ſchemes we may have moſt at heart? What then muſt be the delicacy of the province his majeſty fills and the part he acts, ſurrounded, as he is, with temptations almoſt inſurmountable, burdened at all times with the weightieſt concerns, and perpetually occupied by the moſt intereſting tranſactions of ſtate?

Why liſten to the ſlanders and ſarcaſm of infamous detractors, while we have the honour and happineſs to witneſs with our own eyes the luſtre of his royal virtues? What a pity, any of our fellow ſubjects, by factions in the ſtate, or ſchiſms in the church ſhould perſiſt in artifices to ruffle his quiet, or alienate the affections of a dutiful and loyal people. Theſe, for the preſent, are however ſo perfectly ſilenced, that not one diſreſpectful whiſper is to be caught in public or private: but, from the general and growing conviction that our king and conſti-

conſtitution are once more ſecure, our drooping hopes revive, we bid adieu to fear, and laugh at the poſſibility even of ſurprize! While we enjoy with gratitude the greateſt political bleſſings that any people on this earth ever did or can enjoy, we are alſo prepared for the worſt accident that can befal us. And ſhould that diſmal day, which this iſland has already ſeen, and which we pray God to avert, ever happen again in Old England, and drive, as formerly, the benign father of his people to ſolicit their aſſiſtance; where is the man, young or old, rich or poor, who would not be proud to rally round the throne, and ſacrifice his life for the monarch of his heart?

We deprecate the degradation of an empire, the moſt proſperous and rich in the univerſe, whoſe ſuperior magnanimity is felt and recognized in every region of the globe, and whoſe benignity and largeſſes have even been extended to half the nations and kings of the earth, curtailing by any meaſure of invidious parſimony, the exterior

pomp,

pomp, perſonal retinue, domeſtic comfort, or royal bounty of its ſovereign.

Long may theſe united kingdoms be bleſſed in him, on whoſe precious life ſo many intereſts and felicities depend, and long may their flouriſhing condition, allegiance, and unanimity make him bleſſed. And, while he graciouſly repreſents in his ſacred perſon the majeſty of the Britiſh nation, and unites in his official character all that is grand and auguſt in the powerful ſupremacy of a great, high-ſpirited, and free people; may his revenue, his indulgence and his glory be increaſed, increaſing and never diminiſhed.

While it is ſo much the rage to ſlander and run down kings, let it not, alſo, be forgotten, that the inſtitution is venerable for its antiquity; that, of all other ſituations, it gives ampleſt ſcope for exerciſing, in their fulleſt latitude, the beſt qualities of our nature; and that he who raiſes the royal functions to all the luſtre and magnanimity of which they are capable, is an object of the

the higheſt utility that can tread or adorn the theatre of humanity.

The following picture of this ſort is reſpectfully ſubmitted to republican contemplation. It is ſaid to be a fragment of one of the PTOLOMIES, found at Thebes by the beſt among the Roman emperors, which, for its excellence, he ordered to be placed every night under his head, and which he left, as an ineſtimable treaſure to his ſon COMMODUS, who made the ſame miſerable uſe of theſe divine ſayings as of his father's amiable example.

" I never exalted the proud rich man, " neither hated the poor juſt man. I " never denied juſtice to the poor for his " poverty, neither pardoned the wealthy " for his riches. I never gave reward for " affection, nor puniſhment upon paſſion. " I never ſuffered evil to eſcape unpuniſh- " ed, neither goodneſs unrewarded. I " never denied juſtice to him that aſked " it, neither mercy to him that deſerved " it. I never puniſhed in anger, nor pro- " miſed in mirth. I never did evil upon

" malice,

" malice, neither good for covetouſneſs.
" I never opened my gate to the flatterer,
" nor mine ear to the backbiter. I always
" ſought to be beloved of the good, and
" feared of the wicked. I always favour-
" ed the poor, that was able to do little,
" and God, who was able to do much,
" always favoured me."

# DISCOURSE SIXTH.

## CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT.

*Private individuals ignorant of public affairs—Delicacy of deciding on what is imperfectly known—Mutual duties of the governed and governing—Baneful effects of prejudice—The human faculties perverted by power—Source of faction.*

A SHEPHERD's dog having neglected his charge, and ſuffered the ſheep to be devoured by wolves, his maſter threatened to hang him. "Look at home," ſaid the cur. "The fault is yours, not "mine. Had you protected me from the "inceſſant envy and yelping which your "ſervice brings upon me, and repelled "by abhorrence, the inſolence your con-"nivance encourages, the flock might "have ſtill been ſafe, and both of us blame-"leſs. Thoſe who wiſh for my ſituation, "and grudge me your favour, are ſtimu-"lated by your indulgence to divert me "from my duty. You may puniſh my

"inatten-

" inattention with a halter, but it is occa-
" ſioned by yours; and as your guilt is
" greater, your ſufferings will be more ex-
" emplary than mine."

The moral of this apologue forbids premature concurrence with oppoſition to meaſures of executive government, that miniſters may not find an apology for miſconduct in public temerity.

The developement of private animoſities, is often difficult and impracticable, how much more thoſe of a general nature and tendency; where ſo many intereſts claſh, and ſuch a variety of conflicting paſſions combine to ſtifle diſcernment and perplex attention.

A ſimple affray in the ſtreets, or among neighbours where the parties are known, is ſometimes ſo intricate as to baffle all inveſtigation. Into what labyrinths of endleſs and ruinous litigation, are multitudes daily plunged by ambiguous diſputes, and uncertain claims?

The quarrels of nations more eſpecially are of ſuch magnitude and importance, involve ſuch diverſity of high and complicated

conſiderations, and, for the moſt part, originate in ſuch dark, equivocal, and iniquitous cauſes, that he has, generally, moſt ſenſe, who ſays leaſt about them. And whoever attempts the complicated diſcuſſion, without official information, muſt find it every where embarraſſed with inſuperable difficulty.

We are always ſure to be wrong without taking into the account how little we know, and how much we preſume in matters ſo little on a level with our ordinary train of thought; what ſtratagems are practiſed to abuſe us, and to what deceptions we are liable; on what ill digeſted and fickle principles, the views, opinions, and predilections of thoſe immediately concerned may hang; the infinite contrariety of mens prevailing paſſions coupled with their aptitude to miſtake and miſlead; the different light in which the ſame objects appear to different minds, and the very partial and unequal ſtandards, by which every one endeavours to meaſure the judgment, and guide the conduct of another; the duplicity of ſome, the perverſeneſs of others,

the

the arrogance of this party, and the obſtinacy of that; on the one hand vaſt projects of ambition, on the other profound ſchemes of private intereſt; here, pride ſwelling in all its ghaſtly and monſtrous enormities; there, ſelfiſhneſs practiſing all its little inſidious intrigues; ſimplicity duped by cunning, and right yielding to wrong; pertinacity and prejudice ſupplanting integrity and juſtice; obſtacles ſurmiſed by apprehenſions of loſs, and pretenſions founded in the proſpect of gain; claims urged with boldneſs, and conceſſions made with reluctance; the temerity of moſt with whom the deciſion is entruſted, and the folly perhaps, or imperfection at leaſt of all.

By theſe, and the like infirmities of our common nature, which have ſtill a mighty aſcendency over all its beſt operations, all affairs of ſtate, under all the governments in the world, are unavoidably ſhaped, and for which, in all private ſpeculations, or public meaſures too much allowance cannot be made.

He, therefore, who waſtes his own time, or exhauſts the patience of others by empty declamation, or opprobious invective on what he does not underſtand, can hardly be worſe employed.

Much of the common buſineſs of life is done by proxy, and many of its beſt comforts depend on that mutual credit, by which its commerce and intercourſe ſubſiſts, or is carried on. We could have no connections with each other, no reciprocity in cordiality and traffic, neither ſerve nor be ſerved without confidence. This is the only ſafe medium of communication among men, the chief bond by which they are tied and braced together in one body, one deſign, or one intereſt; the keyſtone of that great arch on which the whole fabric of ſociety reſts! And is it our intereſt or our duty to withold that principle from the higheſt without which the leaſt and loweſt of our concerns could not ſucceed or even exiſt?

What is government but a truſt repoſed by the community at large in a few, for the good of all; and for the uſe and abuſe of

of which, the former are ſtill accountable to the latter? If in any degree, or in any article of importance, individuals acting in this critical and weighty truſt, are chargeable with delinquency, treacherous to the intereſt of the public, unfaithful in the poſts they occupy, prodigal of our property, or careleſs of our lives, by all means caſhier, impeach or puniſh them. They are ſtill amenable to the laws of the land, and we, competent to arraign and proſecute them. But while they retain the power, it were madneſs to deprive them of what gives it energy, and renders it uſeful.

Ours is the work they do, and it is not wiſe in principals to ſtarve their own cauſe, or make a party againſt their agents. Impairing by cenſure, ſurmiſe, or ſuſpicion, the authority we delegate, hurts not them officially, half ſo much, as we collectively.

It is, conſequently, indiſpenſable at once for us and themſelves, that they not only act in our name, and in our behalf, but with our full conſent. This is the great patent of their place by which alone they act, and which cannot be leſſened

or invalidated without manifeſt injury to the buſineſs they conduct. And the ſanction of our approbation is the only motive which can ſtimulate their exertions. Our cenſure might repreſs their ardour or fruſtrate our hope. Their all and ours are both equally at ſtake; and however we may diſlike their play, they muſt be eager to win in proportion to what they riſque. They cannot be falſe to themſelves, though they could to us, unleſs we ſuppoſe them capable of adopting their own ruin, merely for the ſake of effecting ours. Nor does it follow that becauſe we may wiſh to be patriots, that they are either fools or monſters.

Our conſtitution, among its other inimitable excellencies, is not without a proviſion, for redreſſing the wrongs we may ſuffer, both from them and each other. But it hath alſo, and with the ſame wiſdom preſcribed what is incumbent on us to them, as well as on them to us. They are to be juſt, and we peaceable. It is theirs to govern and ours to obey. Fidelity and diligence are expected from them; faith

faith and reliance from us. Their convenience ought even to be conſulted generouſly, whoſe talents are thus wholly and always exerted for our protection. We owe much to a care which affords us the greateſt ſecurity; and in proportion as impreſſed by a ſenſe of its value, will be tender of diverting it to other objects.

Well do they merit our credit while invariably ſtudious of our intereſt. Nor is it our duty to embarraſs, but encourage them in the performance of theirs; and on no occaſions, to menace or upbraid them with the reſponſibility of their ſituation; but to act ſtedfaſtly, and always from a lively and deep conviction of our own. In wiſhing them ſucceſs, and doing our utmoſt to accelerate their meaſures, we favour them not more than ourſelves, or leſs advance our own welfare than theirs.

Theſe intereſts are, in fact, inſeparable, and muſt ſtand or fall together. Whoever, by private ſtratagem, or open force, impedes, or ſtruggles to defeat the means adopted by government for our defence, by whatever ſpecious reaſoning his conduct

may be coloured, or by whatever apologies the enormity of his guilt may be extenuated, he is an enemy to the community of which he is a member, and even virtually denounced by the conſtitution under which he lives.

It is pleaſing to find the ingenious Dean Swift, adopting in nearly the ſame words the ſame argument. "There is"—he obſerves, "a degree of confidence due to "all ſtations; and a petty conſtable will "neither act cheerfully, or wiſely with- "out that ſhare of it which properly be- "longs to him. Although the main ſpring "of a watch be out of ſight, there is an "intermediate communication between it "and the ſmalleſt wheel, or elſe no uſe- "ful motion could be performed."

How exceedingly different the ſalutary and uſeful effects produced by a real ſenſe of duty on all our relative obligations, and ſuch as the want of it unavoidably occaſions in minds, abandoned to the cruel infatuation of prejudice and paſſion. Let us pauſe a moment and drop a paſſing tear on the deep and complicated diſtreſs, which this

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ſtern and bitter ſpirit ſometimes brings on every department of ſocial life! Talk of the implacability which blackens religious diſſenſion! It is the opprobrium of the chriſtian world, and has retarded chriſtianity, and hurt her celebrity more than all the other impediments and enmities which vice has raiſed againſt her. Who does not regret that ever a temper ſo rancorous ſhould inhabit a form ſo fair? Here, ambition, under the garb of an angel, has only realized machinations not quite ſo fell and diabolical as what ſhe avows and perpetrates in her own proper character.

The circumſtance often comes a-croſs me as a palpable proof of our ſtrange imbecility and intemperance; how ſtrong our paſſions are, and how weak our reaſon is, in every concern which affects the heart, that, even they who clamour moſt about religious bigotry, ſhould, of all others be the greateſt bigots in politics. On the awful intereſts of eternity, and the means of ſecuring its happineſs, they can indulge unlimited liberality in ſentiment and opinion, brand every other denomination of chriſtians with a rigid

a rigid preference of one creed to another, narrowneſs of mind, and want of proper allowance for the different views of truth which different ſituations, company, education, and connections inevitably beget, but have not the leaſt patience with any who adopt not all their party dogmas, imbibe not their ſecular views, and are not uniformly and preciſely of the ſame mind with them. How ſhall we account for it, that theſe mighty tolerant religioniſts ſhould be the moſt intolerant politicians? What other conſtruction can their extreme ſenſibility on one ſubject contraſted with equal apathy on the other bear, but that this world is dearer to them than the next, that they are not half ſo much afraid of miſmanaging the affairs of the future as the preſent, and that they wiſh to paſs for better ſtateſmen than chriſtians?

Our peculiar imbecility of intellect, and the very contracted ſcale which bounds its operations, our accidental imperfections from habit or ſituation, whimſicality of temper, conſtitutional infirmity, the caprices of fortune, or the colliſions of ſociety,

ciety, render the far greater part of us incompetent judges of many important materials even in our own perſonal and domeſtic affairs. The opinion of the mercer, the taylor, the ſhoemaker, the victualler, the lawyer, and eſpecially the phyſician, in caſes deeply intereſting, we generally prefer to our own.

Nothing but the faſcinating power of prejudice could ever induce us to preſume more on our capacity in various intricate ſciences, not by any means our excluſive profeſſion, than in ſuch concerns, as from daily and familiar experience, we cannot but know better. But this is the diſeaſe of our race, which has always perverted the human faculties, and from the beginning, more or leſs, made fools of us all.

Thus truth and falſehood are habitually confounded; ſimplicity and nature miſplaced by art and affectation, reaſon and wiſdom by paſſion and folly; and merit and virtue ever have, and probably ever will pine in the ſhade, while almoſt every ſpot of ſunſhine, and every attitude of ſociety are otherwiſe engaged.

Whence

Whence but from this fertile ſource of ambiguity and deviation, do we ſo frequently diſhonour our natures when we think their dignity chiefly conſulted; oppreſs our neighbours and call it juſtice; conclude thoſe moſt obliged to us whom we moſt injure; are diſobedient to ſuperiors and preſume we reverence them; prefer dulneſs and inſignificance in the minions of intereſt, at the expence of a diffident and patient worth where it is not; lift up the heel againſt patrons and benefactors, and believe ourſelves grateful; be profligate, and boaſt of our liberty; traduce government and affect loyalty to the king and conſtitution; blaſpheme religion, libel the clergy, lampoon the eſtabliſhment, proſcribe magiſtracy, extol equality, incenſe the vulgar againſt the great, and the poor againſt the rich; cajole the former, and execrate the latter, and having done all, aſſume the name of patriots?

But this is not the only heterogeneous brood which kennel in the unnatural womb of a dark and diſtorted imagination. We

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ſee nothing in its own ſhape, its own colour, or its own place, while the eye is not ſingle. Then is our droſs gold, and our gold droſs, evil good, and good evil, day night, and light darkneſs, wrong right, and right wrong. All objects to optics thus incorrect and perverted, wear the ſame irregular and diſtorted form. And this extreme want of fairneſs which utterly deſtroys all diſcrimination, often enough embroils ſociety and involves the ſpecies in a deluge of guilt and diſaſter.

By this groſs and fatal error it is, that men and nations ſo often relinquiſh order for confuſion, the ſweet concord of ſociety for the diſſonance of anarchy; the authority of law for the mandates of faction; and, ſpurning at the happineſs of honeſt induſtry and domeſtic quietude, expect to realize it in the drudgery of encampments and forced marches, or the ſhocks of ambuſcades and maſqued batteries, or the fatigue of caſting up entrenchments, and defending or ſtorming cities, amidſt the tumult of conflicting armies, hurricanes of artillery, heaps of

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ſlain and torrents of blood. Thus ſtruggling only by public violence, and private manœuvre to ſupplant or annihilate each other, they have literally turned their ploughſhares into ſwords, their ſcythes into ſabres, their bells into cannon, their ſtatues into bullets, their citizens into ſoldiers, their palaces into priſons, their towns into garriſons, and their country into a deſart, or, as they expreſs it, heaps of aſhes *ſoaked in blood*.

They conceit all this to be ſanctioned by a philoſophy alike hoſtile to humanity and divinity, by expunging the one from their hearts, and the other from the univerſe; which teaches to beat down churches, and murder their miniſters; grind the faces of the innocent; plunder, expel, or guillotine the rich; drive the poor like ſheep to the ſlaughter; overturn the throne, and conſign its illuſtrious poſſeſſors to the ſufferings and exit of traitors; wanton in all the atrocious exceſſes of ill-gotten power; ſend out a ſmoke like the bottomleſs pit, and breath forth, or roar with the fury of infernal

infernal fiends, anathemas, proſcriptions, baniſhment, and death.

Such is the ſtern prejudice of party, or that domineering aſcendency, ſo rigidly exerciſed by faction over the minds of all her infatuated vaſſals and adherents. The potency of this nefarious principle, as it operates through all the departments of ſociety, and controuls every order of men in private and public life, is aſtoniſhing. It begins in infancy with all, and rarely do the ſtrongeſt minds wholly break its chains in any ſubſequent period. Even in old age, when almoſt every other tie is forgotten, our preferences are not unfrequently guided by the partialities and diſlikes we imbibed and indulged in our tendereſt years. The arbitrary pale by which we then circumſcribe whatever we moſt value or admire, is ever after tenaciouſly preſerved, conſulted as a ſort of criterion by which our judgements are formed, and our opinions regulated, and ſeldom or never violated but in caſes of neceſſity, and with ſome reluctance.

All

All families, bodies of men, particular ſocieties, inſulated countries, independent ſtates, and powers confederated for carrying on in concert, meaſures of common utility, preſcribe to themſelves certain limitations which neceſſarily exclude aliens and ſtrangers. Theſe are laws or conditions by all, as acceptable to all who have any concern in the general intereſt. They are boundaries which abſolutely prohibit every ſpecies of foreign interference.

Every plot, however illegal or criminal, ſtands on ſimilar ground, and is faſhioned by the ſame ſpirit of common aſſociation. But it has this peculiar, that its terms are more peremptory, and its exceptions more ſevere, becauſe its purpoſe is more deſperate, and its iſſues more equivocal, than thoſe of any other. And there is no engaging in it without imbibing all its views, however flagitious, and all its maxims, however monſtrous, by renouncing every feeling that may claſh with the former, and every degree of underſtanding that does not implicitly adopt the latter.

Thus

Thus among individuals, the weakeſt always goes to the wall. In our very paſtimes, in the nurſery, and at ſchool, the moſt impotent and moſt innocent are always on the loſing ſide. The frolics of infancy unwarily betray the purſuits of manhood. And the villainy which occaſionally triumphs in high life, as often meets with a halter in a meaner condition.

All caſes exemplify the ſame feeling, or are mere illuſtrations of this principle. Wherever human nature is, there is enough of malignity to embroil the univerſe. And even in the loweſt traffic or barter, which runs through the whole maſs, or fills up the various interſtices of ſociety, the ſimple are uniformly ſupplanted by the cunning. Why does oppreſſion ſo often paſs with impunity, but that the injured are unable to retaliate, and that their beſt wiſdom who cannot command redreſs, is quietly to put up with their wrongs?

How bitterly do all men arraign the arrogance incident to power, how unanimouſly, and eagerly inveigh againſt the right of the

ſtrongeſt, how indignantly ſpurn at inſolence of office? It is, perhaps the propenſity of our nature to abuſe independence, and to proſtitute whatever advantage genius, fortune, or contingency confers. From the beadle at leaſt to the maſter of every company; from the door-keeper to the preſident of every aſſembly; from the ſcullion in the kitchen to the ſquire in the parlour, and from the very centinels on the out-poſts to their ſuperiors at head quarters; the whole ſcale of power teems with puppets, who, with but a few illuſtrious exceptions, are all equally pert, repulſive and conſequential on their own wire.

Theſe are a ſort of armed men who uniformly act on the defenſive, as if their places were always in danger, and the hand of every one againſt them, as theirs evidently are againſt every one. But they are not the only creatures who never feed without growling; and perhaps from no ill founded apprehenſion that all who are hungry would alſo be ſharers

We blame not the natural frailty, but as it is perverted by occaſional depravity into this vicious bias. The beſt feel more or leſs of its influence, but it only predominates in the worſt. It is the germ of faction, and gives birth, prominence, virulence and malignity to every gangrene which feſters, waſtes, and diſſolves the body politic. It creates bigotry and proſcription in religion, dogmatiſm, blaſphemy, and atheiſm in philoſophy, all the impotence which tarniſhes the moſt cautious and regular proceedings of the beſt conſtituted governments, all the confuſion of anarchy, and all the havock of deſpotiſm. It produces every ſpecies and degree of official delinquency, and raiſes all that foul ſeditious clamour, by which, the buſineſs of the public is ſo frequently impeded, and her ſervants ſo groſsly inſulted.

But one of the moſt correct obſervers of men and manners that this or any other country ever produced, and long in the habit of diſſecting all the latent obliquities

in the human heart; has briefly analyſed this hateful characteriſtic of our nature.

" An evil ſoul producing holy witneſs,
" Is like a villain with a ſmiling cheek;
" A goodly apple rotten at the heart.
" Oh, what a beauteous outſide falſehood hath!"

In truth it is only men of violence, whether in or out of power, who always take a pride in thus abuſing the prerogatives they uſurp, think it great to graſp at what is above them, to divide what is united, ſhake what is eſtabliſhed, and outrage what is ſacred. They are ever moving and heaving upwards to be more than they ſhould be, uſeleſs in their own place and miſchievous out of it, habitually neglect what they ſhould do, and always buſy doing what they ſhould not. And in their tempers we may look as certainly, for all the miſeries that have perturbed the world, as in the acorn for the oak.

# DISCOURSE SEVENTH.

## THE NEW PHILOSOPHY.

*How the multitude are fitted for anarchy—Effects of looſe principles—Voltaire and Rouſſeau—Their opinions and writings—Produce a ſpurious and depraved philoſophy—Our nature ſlandered—The conduct of Providence vindicated—Our country ſupplicates the great and learned.*

IT is noted of earthquakes, that their beginning is for the moſt part ſcarcely perceptible, that the matter ſtruggling for vent, is often long confined and quieſcent in the bowels of the earth, but that the irruption it ultimately produces is nevertheleſs terrible. Only a ſmall vapour at firſt, occaſionally augmented, as it flits from one cavity to another, in the interior of the globe, may remain there pent up, or inactive for ages, and in proportion to its diſtance from the ſurface create no diſturbance or apprehenſion. But from various caſual and inexplicable agitations

or colliſions among the elements in theſe ſubterraneous regions, a complication of ſtrange appearances, announce the ſudden approach of ſome extraordinary emergency. The air aſſumes a dead calm, looks troubled and frightful; hollow ſounds, like diſtant thunder, croud upon the ear; the ſea roars and ſwells, and rivers and lakes are violently moved without any viſible cauſe; the very animals are ſeized with fits of unuſual tremour and ſtupefaction! Then a fearful concuſſion occurs, accompanied with ſuch a furious impetuoſity as nothing can withſtand or abate! It heaveth vaſt columns of earth, teareth it in prodigious chaſms, rendeth the hardeſt rocks, overthroweth the deepeſt and moſt ſtupendous mountains, ſwalloweth up whole diſtricts, iſlands, cities, rivers, and vallies, inflameth the air, impregnateth the clouds with thunder, darteth abroad the lightening, mangleth and deformeth the face of nature, and filleth the world with aſtoniſhment and conſternation.

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In the material ſyſtem there is no phænomena more awful than theſe, or more emphatically pictureſque of ſuch convulſions in ſocieties and nations, as the principles of the new philoſophy are likely to produce whenever and wherever they become general, ſupplant the popular religion, ſubvert the common opinions of mankind, or more or leſs affect the aggregate maſs of convictions, on which the whole buſineſs of human life, and all the public and private affairs of the world, depend.

How exactly and univerſally is every part of the analogy realized and exemplified through the whole proceſs of the French revolution. Long have theſe diſtracted people been indulged with the beſt means of information on every branch of ſcience, and every claſs of duties, which it moſt became them to know and to cultivate. But how wantonly and uniformly have they abuſed this valuable bleſſing. All the inſtruction they derived from religion and philoſophy, inſtead of exalting their manners, and rendering them, as ſuperior to others

in the virtues of candour and probity, as they affected to be in ſcience and politeneſs, only ſtamped their conduct both in a public and private capacity, with ſuppleneſs and inſincerity. Their exterior was poliſhed, but their hearts were falſe and hollow. They excelled in urbanity, but wanted honeſty. Their governing paſſion was faſhion and ſhew, their chief purſuit, gaiety and pleaſure; and the only ſtandard of praiſe and blame, to which every thing among them was referred, was a ſemblance of honour which admitted or connived at every breach of morals and every exceſs of ſenſual indulgence.

Literature is full as often biaſſed by the genius of nations, as nations by the genius of literature. Theirs, with a few favourite exceptions, has in general, been always light and frothy, rather than manly and ſolid. It fed but did not correct their levity, made them knowing but kept them volatile, amuſed them with the beauties of taſte, but ſeldom impreſſed them with the charms of virtue, diſcloſed to their fervid

ſervid imaginations, all the ſources of claſſical erudition, but rather fired and poliſhed their native ſprightlineſs than gave it a rational, moral, or uſeful direction.

Such has been the gradual and progreſſive tendency of learning among this giddy agreeable people. It has actually led the way and prepared them for whatever they now ſuffer from anarchy, irritation, or mutual accuſation and injury. The philoſophic paradoxes which diſtinguiſhed their popular authors in the preceding century, and were revived and illuſtrated in the former part of this, with ſuperior brilliancy and celebrity by Voltaire and Rouſſeau, may be conſidered as ſo many conductors to the pitileſs and violent ſtorm, in which they have for ſo long a time been pelted and involved.

From their education, habits and whimſical predilections, it was not difficult to foreſee that the reins of government required to be tightly held, and by a ſteady hand. The ruling propenſity of the nation was at beſt a ſort of elegant licentiouſneſs, which in many

many caſes, was without decency or bounds, and but for the venerable and rigid ſyſtem of the old eſtabliſhment executed in all its extent with vigour and promptitude, it was ready every moment to plunge into every kind of exceſs. The mine was dug, furniſhed with combuſtibles, the train laid, and the match only wanting to produce the exploſion, which has ſince taken place, and made of them and their country "a "ruinous heap."

On minds thus inflammable and unprincipled the ſophiſms of irreligion, accommodated to popular humour, and prejudice, in a torrent of poignant ſatire, and rendered captivating and impreſſive by a bold, a glowing and a vituperative eloquence, operated with the ſubtility and force of magic. The ſage, of Ferney, by ſporting a flaſhy and daſhing libertiniſm in all his public actions, pampered infidelity with garbage, and miniſtered to the fickleneſs of the giddy, the pruriency of the ſenſual, and the profligacy of the vicious: while all of a more correct and ſentimental turn of thinking,

thinking, were literally faſcinated and juggled out of their ſenſes by the ſublime chimeras and elaborate quackery of the citizen of Geneva. The ſyſtem of impiety and reform, thus trumpeted forth with all the preſumption and addreſs of theſe two political but diſcordant necromancers, we have ſeen conſummated. And it now triumphs in gigantic maturity over all that is juſt or good, and like the tail of the great red dragon mentioned in the Apocalypſe, draws after it, not the third part of the ſtars of heaven, but what is worſe, the whole immenſe body of Gallic republicans.

Voltaire was an atheiſt at heart, and regarded every ſpecies of religion with innate rancour and abhorrence. He ſeldom ſpeaks even of the common virtues with fondneſs or enthuſiaſm as one who loved them, or without a ſneer, but as one to whoſe fame or intereſt, ſome affectation of regard for them was indiſpenſable. The names of them occaſionally adorn his ſtyle, and give it juſt ſuch a gaudy look, as the dreſs of Indians rendered ſparkling and fantaſtic, by

by the toys and trinkets of European finery. All the veſtiges of decency ſcattered through his voluminous works with a ſparing hand, ariſe from the influence of ſtrong ſenſe, not of good intentions. His principal ambition was to excel in the knowledge of the world, and to be in literature, what a ſharper or knowing one is in life, up to every thing. And it muſt be owned that his capacity in this inſtance accorded exactly with his taſte. For he certainly had more dexterity than any author ancient or modern, in giving zeſt and poliſh to the buffoonery of the age. He could detail with infinite archneſs the moſt daring ebullitions of a ruffian in the language of a gentleman. And all the ſtores of a memory richly furniſhed, and a genius highly cultivated, he thus uniformly proſtituted to embelliſh the ribaldry of the vulgar and debaſe the minds of the liberal and well bred, and render them familiar by an agreeable ſtrain of vivacity and wit to all that paſſes in their thoughts and imaginations,

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with whom no man of taſte or decency wiſhes to aſſociate.

It was by a ſkilful management of this maſterly weapon that he long maintained ſo powerful an aſcendency over all his philoſophical cotemporaries, and that his ſuperlative powers of ridicule and deriſion ſo ſtrongly depreſſed and chagrined his capricious coadjutor, the celebrated Rouſſeau.

Theſe two extraordinary men were born and bred enemies and rivals. Their minds equally original, were notwithſtanding, perfectly diſcordant. The one a ſatiriſt, a politician, and a miſer brought all his talents to bear in promoting his own emolument; the other a moraliſt, a theoriſt, and a projector affected in all his works, a romantic ſuperiority to profit. Neither the one nor the other was without vanity, as both were ſuſceptible of flattery, but it was not the ruling paſſion of either. Voltaire had more than common ſtrength of mind, but no ſenſibility. What few ſocial aptitudes he poſſeſſed were without feeling, his ſentiments were deſtitute of purity, and his interc-

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courſe with others, was ſeldom marked, either by honour or benevolence. Rouſſeau piqued himſelf on his honeſty, and was conſtantly a dupe to the delicacies of a heart much too ſuſceptible and refined for his happineſs or quiet. Both abhorred hypocriſy, the one for its folly, and the other for its guilt. Religion was hunted down by the firſt, from a diſlike to its purity, and the obvious tendency it diſcovered to elevate and comfort our nature. The ſecond, unwarily betrayed and expoſed it, by a ſilly attempt to depreciate its genius and invalidate its evidence from a miſapprehenſion of its ſpirit, and a ſceptical faſtidiouſneſs of enquiry. Voltaire probably indulged an indiſcriminate abuſe againſt every thing ſerious and venerable, becauſe the plenitude of goodneſs he could not but conceive in religion, was palpably irreconcileable to the malignant bias of his mind. But though the impieties of Rouſſeau ſeem rather extorted from him by a querulous and irritable temper in colliſion with miſfortune, diſeaſe of body, oddity of circumſtances,

ſtances, and the wanton and reſtleſs aſperity of invidious competitors, the writings of the former have been leſs pernicious, perhaps, than thoſe of the latter.

Rouſſeau inſinuates his doubts under ſuch a bewitching air of candour and ſincerity, regrets his ignorance and incapacity with ſo much artleſſneſs and innocence, and unfolds the grounds and reaſons of his opinions ſo fairly and unreſervedly, that it is almoſt impoſſible to give him the leaſt attention, without retaining more or leſs of his ſcepticiſm. He did not probably foreſee the baleful effects of his doctrines, otherwiſe he has taken a terrible revenge for the few ſufferings he underwent, and his guilt infinitely tranſcends even his genius.

But Voltaire reprobates in peremptory terms all our convictions at once, and aſſumes as much confidence in giving the lye direct, to every creed in Chriſtendom, as a common police officer in detecting a notorious impoſtor, or ſeizing a hackneyed thief. He bullies rather than argues, and

we

we are not more amuſed by his pleaſantries than ſhocked by the impiety of his ſarcaſms, and diſguſted by the impudence of his raillery.

No convulſions of nature or the elements can be more terrible and deſtructive than this ſpurious philoſophy, hazarded on ſpeculation, and thrown out as a mere random experiment, by thoſe enterprifing empirics on the whole aggregate ſyſtem of the French monarchy. It has transferred the ſovereignty from the inhabitants of the palace to thoſe in the ſuburbs, and from a prince, whoſe illuſtrious progenitors have occupied the throne for many centuries, to a banditti, who had otherwiſe rotted in fetters, or tugged in the gallies. It has driven the good into holes and corners, and from holes and corners ſupplied their places with the bad. It has changed the gaiety of its feſtive tribes into mourning, lamentation and woe, and inſtead of ſwaying them with the gentle ſceptre of humanity and moderation, made them every where cringe to the iron rod of terror. It has buried

buried in one grave a king, conſtitution, laws, uſages, freedom of ſpeech, the liberty of the preſs, and all the functions of authority, all the regards of the heart, all the bonds of fidelity, all rights, all duties, all morality, and all religion, with as much facility as the goods of a veſſel are ſunk in a ſtorm to prevent a ſhipwreck.

Thus, without having recourſe as Hume alledges, to the prieſts for another world, two men of letters have found out what baffled all the mechanical ſcience of Archimedes, an expedient by which this is actually turned upſide down.

A philoſophy founded in fataliſm has accordingly ſprung from this daring and profane ſchool, which explodes all former ſyſtems, however rivetted in popular conviction, or ſanctioned by general approbation, which aſſumes the futility of all we know, believe, or hope, and which holds up our venerable anceſtors as fools, and the religion of our fathers as an impoſture.

By analyſing every thing in this minute detail, general principles are loſt, in the

eager purſuit of particular effects. The great fabric of nature is diſſected by operators, anxious only to explore ſpecific qualities, inſenſible to the univerſal uniſon which runs through the whole, and leſs concerned about the common laws of exiſtence, than whatever they find actually exiſting.

So faſtidious an application of a principle, otherwiſe indiſpenſable to the improvement of ſcience, and the progreſs of all the elegant and ſocial arts is aptly compared by Lord Bacon to a magazine, in which, a few rich and valuable moveables are found among a heap of toys. The curious, ſays he, is adopted inſtead of the uſeful. And, "what more is required to draw the atten-"tion of great men; and to form that "tranſient faſhion of the day, which ends "in contempt?" The whole material world is conſidered not as a medium of communication with the ſpiritual, by an aſſemblage of ſigns, accommodated to our ſenſes, but held up and occupied as one vaſt obſervatory, for amuſing imagination with

with an endleſs ſucceſſion of hypothetical ſpeculation, aſtronomical conjecture, and theories on all the meteorological phænomena of the atmoſphere; a laboratory, in which nothing is to be ſeen but furnaces, alembicks, cylinders, crucibles, and whatever conſtitutes the apparatus of chemical proceſs, which, for aſcertaining the reſpective properties of bodies, reduces them to elementary principles, and which effects its reſults by ſalts, ſulphurs, mercuries, acids, and alkalis; or a theatre for exerciſing deliberate cruelty on helpleſs animals, and making experiments on ſolitary objects; exhibiting nature as a ſpectacle, not of ſublime harmony and beauty, but an immenſe chaos of disjointed particulars, huddled together by chance or accident, without wiſdom, order, or adheſion.

This avidity for knowing with preciſion every creature or production, animate and inanimate, which challenges attention, for diſcloſing and diſcriminating their eſſence, their properties, and their functions; is luadable, in as far, as it contributes to

improve our acquaintance with the beings and phænomena around us; to eſtabliſh an uſeful familiarity and correſpondence with them; to facilitate their application either for ſupplying our wants, or augmenting our enjoyments; and to enhance our love and admiration of his benignity and wiſdom, who has created all things, and for whoſe pleaſure and our indulgence they are, and were created. But when theſe inquiries have no better origin than human arrogance, the vanity of mere emulation and diſtinction, a love of ſingularity and paradox, the ſilly parade of ſuperior acuteneſs in managing a difficult inveſtigation, and ſolving an intricate problem, and are directed to ſuppreſs the honeſt anticipations, and confound the beſt apprehenſions of the ſerious and good; they produce much more miſchief than utility, rob man of his only friend, diveſt matter of deſign, and the univerſe of intelligence; reduce ſociety to deſpair, and leave it in a condition without hope or reſponſibility; pervert all thoſe faculties we ought to cultivate and

cheriſh

cheriſh as the moſt valuable gifts of God, and fill our hearts, not with the gratitude we owe him, but an apathy diſhonourable to his bounty, and a conduct incompatible with our duty.

Every perſon of common diſcernment muſt have obſerved, that the ſucceſs of our republican neighbours owes much of its celebrity to the medium, through which it has been contemplated. When we conſider the various complicated and rapid commotions and exceſſes which have annihilated all the diſtinctions of civilized life, and to which the ſweeteſt ſolacements of the human heart have been ſo frequently ſacrificed, we are aſtoniſhed that the principle or cauſe of ſo much havock and unhappineſs is not every where, and by every individual equally deteſted.

Nor are theſe its only evils. All the diſtreſſes occaſioned and accumulated by the preſent oppreſſive war in which ſo many nations are involved, can be traced to no other ſource than the exploſion of ideas thus wild and profligate. And we heartily

regret that any among us at leaſt, ſhould be either ſo blind or perverſe as regard with the leaſt apparent complacency the adoption of a ſyſtem thus dreadful in its conſequences; or imagine the higheſt poſſible advantage in proſpect, an equivalent, for ills of ſuch number and magnitude as it has produced; or that the deluſions of a period, no one can ſay how diſtant and equivocal, ſhould be deemed by any claſs of men, temptation ſufficient for plunging precipitately into general and irretrievable diſtraction.

Of many ſuch individuals, perhaps, no unſatisfactory account may be given without any diſreſpectful or invidious reference to heterodoxy in politics or morality, deſperate fortune, diſappointed ambition, or the effervescence of termagant or malignant paſſions.

Men of ſtrong ſpeculative powers and accuſtomed to think ſeriouſly on the complicated phænomena of our nature, have ſometimes broached very licentious theories of the paſſions. Connecting what they ſee in the world with what they read in

in hiſtories, their concluſions are peculiarly diſreſpectful to the ſpecies. That there is no ſuch thing as honeſty, honour, conſcience, fidelity, or any other than one black imperious ſelfiſh propenſity, prevalent among individuals, or ſociety is the ſolitary reſult of all they experience and all they obſerve. And man, who breathes the inſpiration of the Almighty, whoſe heart palpitates with the pureſt impulſe of benignity, whoſe unperverted faculties are all gentle, pacific, ſocial and orderly, and who in form and place repreſents the ſovereignty and majeſty of his Maker, metamorphoſed, by this chilling and degrading ſyſtem, ſeems perfectly miſshapen, deſtitute of every excellence, incapable of all good, and an implement of pure evil.

All who reduce our nature to this mercileſs and abject ſtandard muſt feel but little repugnance and ſurprize at the higheſt extravagance of Gallic criminality. From the violent diſſenſion of a ſociety, conſtituted of ſuch tigers, what better effects could be expected? What guilt can at-

tach to actions thus natural and inevitable? Is it then a characteriſtic of nature to wanton in the cruelleſt exceſſes?

Ye philoſophers who diveſt her of her beſt, and magnify her worſt qualities, aſk your own hearts. There, at leaſt you will allow her to ſhudder at her own work, and for once be ſhocked, at the dreadful ſpectacle of inteſtine horrour.

But though no weapon formed againſt France in her preſent lawleſs and infatuated condition ſhould proſper, though her deſpots ſhould be permitted for a while to carry their meaſures into effect, and be able ſomewhat longer to protract and extend their uſurpation by freſh enormities, we are certain that the Judge of all the earth ſhall ſooner or later do right; that they are ſtill accountable to him, whoſe ſentence will be ſtrictly equitable, and that though hand join in hand, the wicked ſhall not go unpuniſhed. It is mighty convenient for men, prone and potent enough to do all the ill they pleaſe in this world with impunity, to rid themſelves of another,

where

where they may not have the ſame chance of eſcaping.

But on this ſtrong ground we take our laſt ſtand, and gratefully avow our ſtedfaſt convictions of a ſuperintending Providence, not caring for what flaſhes of profane wit or low buffoonery ſuch a declaration may provoke. Why ſhould the imputation of cant or hypocriſy, or prieſtcraft, or ignorance of the world, or credulity, or want of taſte, or any of all the vulgar epithets ſo laviſhly beſtowed on pious and ſober minds by the diſſolute and worthleſs, ſtrike the former dumb, while the latter are ſo noiſy and impudent? This is not a time to be neutral or unconcerned for God and the intereſts of goodneſs, when ſuch formidable multitudes are combined to puſh their own wills in oppoſition to his. It were acting a treacherous part to the confidence we have in our own hearts, to connive with meaſures levelled againſt our beſt hopes. On Him whoſe kingdom ruleth over all, we depend for giving a wiſe and bene-

benevolent direction to the moſt abſurd and perverſe of human actions.

It hath long troubled the world to ſee one fate await the righteous and the wicked, both involved in one indiſcriminate cataſtrophe, and no viſible diſtinction obſerved between thoſe who fear God and thoſe who fear him not. But the judgments he inflicts on individuals and nations, are in many reſpects paſt finding out. How ſhould the puny mind of man, confined as it is within a clod of dull earth, comprehend the ways and ends, and aims of Providence, which are probably never more upright than in thoſe events we think moſt unequal; when atheiſts flouriſh, and pious perſons are oppreſſed; when true prophets are fed with the bread of affliction, and the ſons of Belial riot in luxury; when the bad are diſtinguiſhed by every worldly bleſſing, and the good deſtined to wring out the dregs of life under the heavy hand of adverſity?

Alas! we can no more follow or unravel the myſterious procedure of Heaven in rendering

dering the paſſions and enterpriſes of mortals ſubſervient to the intereſts of univerſal righteouſneſs, than we can meaſure the altitude of the ſkies, or graſp the world in the palm of our hands. But this we know, that in the miniſtrations of the divine government, right and wrong can never be confounded, worth utterly neglected, or vice ſuffered to reign triumphant. Is not the moſt proſperous villainy every where limited both in extent and duration, and never perhaps, more ſeverely puniſhed, than when moſt illuſtrious in the eyes of the world?

What, though theſe cruel violators of decency, peace and juſtice, be let looſe for a little, to correct by their turbulence a vicious generation, or to operate as plagues for purging a corrupted world! The moſt fortunate reprobates that ever cut the Gordian knot of ſocial ſubordination, by leaving their own and uſurping the ſtation of their betters, have only got for their pains honey mingled with gall, honour blackened by the hatred and curſes of their fellow creatures,

tures, a world of depreſſing fears and diſtracting cares, gnawings within and terror without. All the ſatisfaction they receive from all their exceſſes and crimes is but as muſic to one ſtretched on the rack, or the darkling glimmerings of a dim taper ſtealing through ſome lone crevice, and faintly viſiting the miſerable wretch who lies fettered in a loathſome dungeon.

Unhappy world! thus infeſted with incendiaries and madmen, were it not for Him who ſits in heaven, and laughs at their impotence and inſanity! He can make the greateſt leviathans, who ſport and plunge in this tumultous ocean, and cauſe it to boil like a pot, diſgorge in the midſt of their frantic paſtime, and caſt up their prey. He has them all in a curb, and for the ends of his wiſdom and goodneſs, only permits them to wanton as ſo many wild beaſts for a while indulged by their keeper, and then he will remand every one to his own place! It will then be equally manifeſt to all who favour, or do not favour their unrighteous dealings, that like pirates

rates in a paroxyſm of deſpair, they hoiſted their ſails and made towards a ſea, which they fondly hoped would have wafted them to a ſafe and joyful haven, but, which opened its capacious boſom, and buried them under its waves.

We have therefore no heſitation to conclude, notwithſtanding the preſent triumphant exultation of our enemies, that they are too criminal to find eventual proſperity under the controul of an impartial Providence; that we are as certain their ultimate wiſhes ſhall fail, as that, the oracles of truth are infallible; that the righteous governor of the world will not allow them to eſtabliſh an exception to all his dealings with our race, to the whole current of hiſtory, and to every aſpect we have hitherto ſeen of human affairs; and that they are actually and formally denounced in face of the univerſe, by their own flagrant and daring immoralities.

It is on you, who compoſe the great body of our Britiſh ariſtocracy, ye men of fortune,

fortune, of letters, and of ſcience, we depend, for repreſſing the prevalence of principles, thus baſe and pernicious. Withdraw your countenance from their abettors and teachers, and their acceptance will naturally ceaſe. Aſſert by private and public attachment, in ſtrong unqualified terms, a ſtedfaſt conviction of the reality and neceſſity of a rational and ſound piety. No expedient but the religion of the country is competent to deliver her from the invaſion and depredations of an enemy, infinitely more formidable than either fleets or armies. Ah! be no longer deaf to her endearing voice, who has done ſo many great things for you, and for us all, who doubles round our hearts in all the affectionate tenderneſs of an indulgent parent, who has ſuckled us in her boſom, and dandles us on her knees, and who gathers and cements into one conſolidated, one ſacred indiſſoluble bond, all the ties of nature, and all the affinities of life. It is to you ſhe ſtretcheth forth her hands, imploring ſuccour,

cour, and deprecating the awful effects of your apathy and inattention.

" Hear me!" ſhe ſays, " ye who alone " can retain and preſerve me from the " numerous ills which beſet me on all " ſides, and denounce my welfare, my " independence, and my very exiſtence, " as a free nation. What termination can " your impiety and licentiouſneſs have, " but my diſtraction and miſery? In the " very loweſt ſituations of life my children " would be quiet, induſtrious, and duti- " ful, but for the factious, turbulent, and " perverſe diſpoſitions they imbibe from " you. Alas! your utter diſregard of all thoſe " honeſt and manly principles which have " hitherto been my boaſt and honour, ſerve " but as a leſſon ſoon got by heart, and eaſily " reduced to practice by the meaneſt of " my ſons. Every inſtance of imprudence, " indecency, and want of worth in you, " is the more impreſſive and infectious; " that your ſtations and property render it " ſo conſpicuous, that it is enforced by " the reverence due to rank and authority;

" that

" that it is eagerly copied with a view to
" conciliate your favour, by a conformity
" to your ſentiments and manners; and it
" derives facility and vigour from an in-
" clination prevalent in all to emulate
" their ſuperiors. By ſeeing you affront
" your Maſter in heaven, ſlight his ſer-
" vices, diſhonour his name, deſpiſe his
" inſtitutions, and ſpurn at his laws, your
" inferiors and dependants become indo-
" cile, inſolent, and refractory to their
" maſters on earth. Wherever they per-
" ceive you proſtitute the ſabbath, they
" miſpend the week. Your intemperance
" is their ſignal for running into every
" exceſs of riot. From an apprehenſion
" of public delinquency, they plead your
" example, to defraud, to pilfer, and to
" ſteal. The ſlander, blaſphemy, and ob-
" ſcenity which circulate above, is faith-
" fully echoed below. If your conduct
" is without honour, theirs will be per-
" fidious; if you are cruel, they will be
" deſperate; if you are oppreſſive, they
" will pant to retaliate, and be revenged.

" No

" No obligations of any ſort will long avail
" to keep them honeſt, peaceable, or obe-
" dient, at the ſame time they witneſs
" the progreſs and exceſs of habitual pro-
" fligacy among you. All ye who are
" armed by nature, by God, or by man,
" do therefore uſe it diligently, conſcien-
" tiouſly, and impartially, and the duties
" of magiſtrates will be made eaſy; the
" laws recover their wonted energy and
" empire; and religion, neglected and
" degraded as ſhe long has been, exert
" her uſeful and auſpicious tendency, ſend
" forth *her healing virtues through the land*;
" raiſe my drooping ſpirits, and revive my
" beſt hopes, by diffuſing among all ranks
" juſt principles, ſound morals, happineſs
" within doors, and decency without."

# DISCOURSE EIGHTH.

## THE GALLIC PRIESTHOOD APOSTATE.

*A fact unprecedented—Characters of the actors—Their conduct interpreted—Oaths multiplied, broken and defeated—Atheists shocked—The country roused and indignant.*

ON the *seventh of November, seventeen hundred and ninety-three,* a very singular occurrence took place in the French convention. The republican Bishop of Paris, his grand vicars and several priests entered the hall in a body, and formally abjured their functions and the christian religion. A similar declaration from other provincial prelates was at the same time announced. And various ecclesiastics, protestant as well as catholic then present, adopted the same cowardly example of renouncing a faith no longer popular, or capable of promoting their secular passions.

The

The original account of theſe tranſactions filled my mind with ſentiments of no common horror, and occaſioned the following ſuggeſtions which are reſpectfully ſubmitted to the attention of the pious, who may ſtill feel themſelves intereſted in whatever, either degrades their nature or diſparages their creed. It is of very little concern to me or to them how, others who care for none of theſe things, may be affected. The toleration they claim for their own taſte and predilections, cannot with candour be refuſed to ours.

That a public body of well informed men, regularly trained to a profeſſion the moſt reſpectable in civil ſociety; ſome of them inveſted by it with ſignal dignity and high rank, others deriving from its eſtabliſhment large emoluments, many reared by a tedious courſe of diſcipline for executing its functions with order and propriety; and all formally and ſacredly ſworn to exemplify its ſpirit, and be true to its intereſt; ſhould come deliberately forward, and before the national convention

of a mighty empire, thus voluntarily reſign their characters and publickly diſavow all their former convictions, is a fact which far outdoes, all the groſſeſt enormities which have ſo recently blackened the conduct of theſe infatuated revolutioniſts.

It demonſtrates in very legible and glaring characters that theſe individuals had hitherto worn a maſk, that they bartered the moſt holy things for the empty vanity and lucre of preferment alone, that the baſe juggle was carried on no longer than an honeſt magiſtracy continued a terror to evil doers, and the blaſphemy of recreant prieſts could not paſs unpuniſhed; that perfidy to God, and duplicity to man are the elements of their ethics; that their policy combines the deepeſt ſubtilty under the moſt ſpecious pretenſions with the blackeſt delinquency in the higheſt truſt; and that a vice deemed infamous and ſhocking ſince the world began, and which the good and wiſe have always branded with the fouleſt diſhonour, is with them paramount to all the virtues.

The

The baſeneſs and enormity of ſuch a wanton breach of the moſt ſolemn and awful engagements, beggar all the ſtrength of language. It exhibits in glowing colours, what theſe infatuated creatures were, what they are, and what they would be. It vouches their intrinſic meanneſs and depravity by a circumſtance perfectly unequivocal and deciſive. It makes the foulеſt uſage of the God of heaven their paſſport to an acceptance with the worſt of his creatures. It ſhows how obnoxious we are to impoſition from the faireſt appearance, and that the pureſt inſtitutions are no preſervative againſt the groſſeſt deception. It perfectly ſubſtantiates the old ſaying, that all "hoods make not monks;" but is no proof that any profeſſion can be a competent apology for human guilt, or that the beſt may not, as in this inſtance, be grievouſly diſhonoured and outraged by the worſt men.

Ill health is not more congenial to the ſilly habit of devouring large quantities of medicine, than perjury to a multiplicity of

oaths. In both caſes men are but too literally and commonly deſtroyed by the means adopted for their recovery and preſervation. Theſe poor frantic eccleſiaſtics have lately ſwallowed one oath after another from no better principle, certainly with as little ſincerity or ceremony, and with full as much facility as our Cuſtom-houſe oaths are hourly taken and broken, as a thief-catcher kiſſes the book at the Old Bailey, or a common affidavit man before a trading juſtice.

Who can pourtray the inherent uglineſs and enormity of deliberate perjury? He who ſwears falſely is not only deſtitute of worth, but piques himſelf on his diſhonour, avows it in the face of heaven, and inſults the majeſty of the moſt high God by challenging his awful attention to a lie. The words of ſuch a man are without meaning, his promiſes are all forgeries, and his ſtrongeſt proteſtations at moſt but inſtruments of no value, or rather traps and ſnares for the innocent and unwary. He is a mere enigma, looks one way while he moves another, and is only to be read backwards,

wards, as witches are ſaid to read their prayers. His language and heart are at perpetual variance; we never know what he is by what he ſays, and his actions furniſh no real key to his character or principles.

What a dreadful change do we not always ſee effected, in every human being, by openly relinquiſhing all regard to truth or integrity. From that moment he becomes a cypher in the ſhape of a man, or rather aſſumes the likeneſs of a fiend, and is the moſt dangerous and deteſtable creature in the whole creation of God. With a moſt farcical gravity of face and ſolemnity of manner, he can then make a ſacrifice of his beſt to his worſt intereſts, proſtitute his conſcience to gratify his mercenary appetites, pervert the right to make way for the wrong, and even call upon the God of truth to certify a falſehood, only that his guile may be wrapped in the garb of ſincerity, and his fraud ſanctioned by the ſtamp of divinity.

Great God! whoſe long ſuffering patience is thus hourly outraged by ſinful duſt and aſhes, hurl not thy vengeance inſtantaneouſly on the devoted heads of theſe apoſtate prieſts! Spare them from ſignal puniſhment, as examples of ſignal mercy, and give them but a moment's recollection of the awful preſcience which every where ſurrounds and confronts them! And for nothing to be feigned, deſired, or hoped, may they ever be tempted more, to brave or provoke thy ſore diſpleaſure!

Be it alſo known unto you, who have exemplified this atrocious perjury, and by every formal ſolemnity, repeatedly vowed, and revoked your vows, that you have not lyed unto man but unto God. Condemned by him and your own hearts, what can it avail, that you are flattered, careſſed and applauded, honourably mentioned in the lying oracles of popular ſufferance, blazoned by the trumpeters of falſhood, as honeſt or ſincere; or accounted philoſophers, patriots, or republicans, by mortals as fallible and factious, as yourſelves?

In

In all the ſtages of this revolutionary frenzy, frequent recourſe has been had to oaths, from a conviction, as it would ſeem, then pretty generally indulged, even among themſelves, that ſwearing may be ſtill uſeful in politics. They have at leaſt often enough tried the expedient, and we know not yet, what ſubſtitution they would prefer. Perhaps the ardour of parties in fierce competition for the maſtery, the urgency of immediate and accumulated preſſures; the verſatility and agitation of the public mind; the danger of procraſtination, a dread of unforeſeen emergencies; the flutter incident to uncertainty, ſuſpence, and apprehenſion; anticipation of the moſt ſerious conſequences from trivial cauſes; eagerneſs to prevent the miſcarriage of neceſſary meaſures; the hazard of allowing the multitude leiſure to reflect; the policy of ſeizing and improving every flux of popular humour; the criſis continually varied and augmented by all the ſucceſſive ſtages in the progreſs and completion of this tremendous conſpiracy; and the abſolute impracc-

impracticability of receding in any one of them; make up, the only rational and ſatisfactory account, which can be given for the wanton and raſh recurrence of ſo awful a ceremony.

Their utter and avowed contempt for the great object of an oath, and all the important truths connected with this fundamental article of human credibility and conſolation, which they have ſince and recently manifeſted; demonſtrate their aptitude to make all the uſe, even of the groſſeſt ſuperſtition, they could; and that it was not till the public became as depraved and profane as its leaders, that they ventured on the deſperate meaſure of expelling chriſtianity. While her preſence was of any ſervice in carrying on their frauds and deluſions, in fomenting the delirium of an intoxicated populace, or in rivetting their ſtupid credulity and confidence in the jugglers, who dupe and abuſe them, they could entertain and cheriſh her with tolerable kindneſs and decency. But ſuch is their fatal propenſity to guilt, that they

ſoon

ſoon found it neceſſary to aboliſh an inſtitution, which inſtead of affording a ſanction to their crimes, reſtrained and condemned them.

They then maltreated her, as her divine Founder was maltreated long ago by their predeceſſors in audacity and barbariſm; as her firmeſt friends in the firſt and beſt ages were maltreated by their exaſperated perſecutors; and as one of her moſt illuſtrious confeſſors and martyrs was lately maltreated even by themſelves, and in the face of chriſtendom. They foully miſrepreſented her as they had done him, imputed to her every crime moſt abhorrent to her genius, raiſed againſt her the popular odium, blackened her by the groſſeſt calumnies, made her an object of private diſlike, and then expoſed her to public obloquy and ſcorn.

Thus by a mixture of malicious fiction and refinement, they ſlander and depreciate that ſalvation which is the beſt bleſſing the beſt of beings ever conferred on the children of men! Ah! mercileſs and deſpe-

deſperate deſpiſers of your own welfare, not ſatisfied with the ruin you bring upon yourſelves, would ye drag the whole world into the ſame awful vortex of perdition, which overwhelms you? Would you emulate their ferocity, who, with wicked hands crucified and ſlew the Lord of life who came to ſave them? Do you envy the infamy by which Judas Iſcariot, who betrayed his maſter with a kiſs, has been branded in all ſucceeding ages? Can poſterity think more honourably of you than of him? Among which of the virtues will yours rank, or rather, which of the crimes will not yield it the precedence? The deed is without a parallel, a claſs, or a name, and muſt for ever ſtand inſulated; as a daring unique in the direful records of iniquity!

It is a compound of knavery, folly, blaſphemy, buffoonery, impoſture, treachery, cowardice, venality, ſacrilege, and perjury; and ſuch a medley of impudence and ſervility, of vileneſs and criminalty, as never inſulted fallen virtue in any other age than the preſent,

preſent, any other place than the theatre of rebellion, among any other men than regicides, or perhaps in any other ſhape than reptiles in canonicals! It is wickedneſs in extreme, and hitherto unequalled and unexampled by the wildeſt exceſſes of the wildeſt paſſions, by the felleſt fury of inordinate indulgence, avarice, and power. It has made you the ſubject of univerſal attention, only to be univerſally deteſted, and lifted you up, as the eagle is ſaid to do the tortoiſe, that you may be caſt down the more certainly, the more fully expoſed, and devoured the more readily. It is the only thing about you, that makes you known, or that is likely to ſurvive you, not to perpetuate your praiſe but your blame, not to embalm your memories, but render them execrable.

Do ye emulate the temerity of Eratoſtratus, by ſetting fire to the temple of the gods? Be yours alſo his puniſhment! The exploit, like his, may get you a name, and ſuch a name as never can be uttered but with horror!

You

You are not more wicked and daring than impotent and impolitic. And who can blame an arrangement, which in moſt caſes couples weakneſs and vice, and renders guilt and folly convertible terms? If you meant to flatter the pedagogues who manage your cabals, committees, clubs, and tribunals, at the expence of your God, your hope, and your ſouls, the event may probably ſhew that you could not have inſulted them more, or done them a greater injury. Has it not removed the only barrier, which they might ſtill have kept between themſelves at leaſt, and the huge inundation they have brought upon the country, which every where overflows its fertile plains, and which threatens to waſh the whole away? Does it not leave the public, that beaſt of burden, without a curb, and reduce their condition who beſtride it, to the greater difficulty and danger, that they can neither enjoy their ſeat with comfort, nor vacate it with ſafety? And what but this breaks the only chain, by which the hydra-headed monſter may be bound or

let

let looſe at pleaſure, or unkennel the whole pack of tigers or blood hounds on their leaders?

When that criſis happens, and who can tell how ſoon it may, the managers of this farcical tragedy will, in your crimination, find their beſt apology. "You"—they will ſay, "were conſecrated to preſide "with ſacerdotal ſolemnity over the paſ- "ſions of the populace, to teach them "their duty, and to impreſs them with "a lively and due ſenſe of its neceſſity "and importance. There is not a poſſi- "bility of guiding them properly, or uſing "them on any occaſion with advantage, "but by the double handle of law and "religion. In an evil hour we aſſumed "the prerogative of diſpenſing with the "one, and your apoſtacy has eſtabliſhed "and proclaimed the inefficiency of the "other. The phantom of terror we ſub- "ſtituted in the room of both, was more "prompt, deciſive and arbitrary while it "laſted, or while the pretext on which it "was founded, could be kept up. But

"it

" it is an engine fit only for a moment of
" deluſion, as the minds of men are never
" ſo eaſily ſtunned or perturbed, as when
" fluttered, embarraſſed, or agitated by
" oppoſite paſſions, rival intereſts, or a
" ſucceſſion of great events. The expe-
" dient was ſuggeſted by circumſtances, in
" their own nature, local and temporary.
" We adopted it from a concurrence which
" left us no option but to prefer this, or
" yield the reins to our rivals. And what-
" ever degree of criminalty may attach to
" meaſures ſo atrocious, it can be no apo-
" logy for your overſtepping the modeſty
" of nature, and laying aſide the functions
" and delicacies of a profeſſion in which
" you might have been uſeful, to hector
" in a character highly offenſive to the
" beſt minds, and by that means deprive
" government of a powerful auxiliary, obe-
" dience, of its ſtrongeſt motives, law of
" its firmeſt ſanctions, rulers of their con-
" fidence in the ſubjects ſubmiſſion, and
" ſubjects of all faith and ſecurity in the
" equity of rulers. You interdict our re-

" turn

" turn to virtue by cutting off our retreat,
" and preſenting us only with deſpair,
" render every penitential effect uſeleſs,
" and ſuppreſs all deſire of reform. We
" expected from your order a pattern of
" patience, meekneſs, ſincerity, honour
" and benevolence, and even to be ſet
" right when wrong; or however, always
" to receive from you the beſt advice,
" though not always in a humour to make
" the beſt uſe of it, to be thankful for
" it, to brook it, or to practiſe it. This
" was your duty, and ſtubborn as we are,
" might have made us better, could not
" have made us worſe. We acted the
" part of tyrants, you of ſlaves, ſyrens,
" ſycophants, puppets and panders. Our
" rugged natures needed correction. The
" gentle voice of mercy and humanity
" might have quelled our turbulence,
" ſoftened our ſavage propenſities, or mo-
" derated that inſatiable avidity for power
" which burnt up our ſouls. Alas, all
" your pains and aſſiduities but fed the
" flame which you foreſaw muſt devour

" us, and the only fountain or ſtream which " could allay this feveriſh thirſt, or afford " us the leaſt refreſhment or relief; parch- " ed and panting, as we were, under a " delirium more terrible than the peſti- " lence, you poiſoned, polluted, or turned " away. Great, undoubtedly is our guilt, " but it is dreadfully increaſed by you. " The land mourns under a prodigious " load of miſeries we have cauſed, and " oppreſſions we have occaſioned, but the " heavieſt curſe it owes to our agency is " the ſanction our authority derived from " your impiety."

In the preſent fluctuating ſtate of parties, ſome ſuch expoſtulation as this, is by no means improbable, as the leaders and all their ſubordinate agents, may once more be huddled promiſcuouſly together, in one dungeon. And ſurely a more cutting recrimination never took place among the ſame black gang of hypocrites and conſpirators.

Touched to the quick by ſuch a diſcloſure of facts as could then be neither parried no denied, would they not be ſtartled at themſelves

themſelves and look convicted and confounded. And if thus abaſhed even by the men for whom they incurred all their guilt and obloquy, and whom they hoped to pleaſe, by the coſtly ſacrifice of innocence and honour; what can they anſwer to the nation at large, whoſe truſt they abuſed and betrayed; by what means defeat the accuſation their own conduct furniſhes againſt them? What can they alledge to diſcredit the heinous charges by which a great and injured people may yet arraign them?

They may think their crimes forgotten becauſe vengeance is not ſpeedily executed, or hope to eſcape without notice amidſt the tumult of the ſcene: but the ſtorm cannot always laſt, and the day of reckoning muſt ſucceed. Is not their audacious recantation already condemned by moſt, and very heartily regretted by all? Only a few devotees perhaps were hurt at firſt, and theſe might think it prudent to ſmother or conceal their chagrin. But grudges in the mind like morbid humours in the body, muſt have vent, or the conſequences may

be ſerious. Neither this however, nor any other maxim of moderation or decency ſeems to have been duly conſulted, in the ſucceſſive ebullition of their political anxieties. All parties have ever been eager to daſh through whatever obſtacles oppoſed their purſuits, regardleſs alike of what might follow. No reſpect of any kind has been paid to the ſcruples of the timid, the ſenſibilities of refined tempers, the delicacies of gentle natures, the reſervations of the prudent, the precautions of the knowing, or the heſitations of the moderate. But all characters, and all ranks have been equally involved in one furious, overwhelming, imperious and precipitant movement.

Nothing ever happened among men ſo like it as the lava of ſome enormous volcano diſcharged from a vaſt altitude, and with infinite violence on the plains below, where it ruſhes in a fiery deluge, and every thing in its courſe is inſtantly withered, petrified, or reduced to aſhes.

O! it cannot come to good! So much ſwearing, ſo many broken oaths, plots, plunder,

plunder, treacheries, murders and maſſacres are ſorry indications of a righteous cauſe, wiſe management, regularity, juſtice, or unanimity.

Not all the brutal energies of faction, even ſeconded by the baneful infection of clerical apoſtacy, could keep the churches longer ſhut. A power as irreſiſtible and inviſible as that which liberated the holy apoſtles, while chained like felons in a cell, and made the keepers of the priſon to quake, already* opens the doors of the ſanctuary, and ſends forth a ſpirit of awful reſentment and retaliation in ſtanch purſuit of all, who have abandoned their functions.

Oh! ill-fated and ill-adviſed men! dupes of a popularity ſo dearly purchaſed, ſo precarious and ſo brief, who ſees you not already ſhrinking from the general odium excited by this raſh action. Hear your fearful indictment by an indignant public, in one unanimous voice, from the four corners

* December 1ſt, 1793.

of the land, loud enough to command the attention of all, and to make even the ſtouteſt hearts among you tremble!

"Why ſo eager," they ſay, "to ſub-
"ſtantiate all the impoſtures and knaveries,
"which ſatire, invective, profaneneſs, im-
"morality, and buffoonery have ſo wan-
"tonly and ſo indiſcriminately imputed to
"the order? Are you loath that the
"vileſt aſperſions caſt upon it by the vileſt
"men ſhould appear unfounded? Would
"you verify and eſtabliſh all the boldeſt
"calumnies and forgeries, to which ma-
"lice, impiety and wicked wit have ſub-
"jected it ever ſince its inſtitution? What-
"ever credit it has derived from others
"you ſtudiouſly belye, its duties you neg-
"lected, its ſpirit you polluted, its aims
"you defeated. What frightful exam-
"ples are we not made by your criminal
"remiſſneſs of what muſt always be the
"conſequence of a careleſs, degenerate
"and diſſolute clergy.

"You pretended to ſide with Heaven,
"but how feebly did you aſſert its intereſts,

"aſſault

" assault its enemies, or vindicate its ways!
" In proportion as we boldly offended, af-
" fronted and blaſphemed our Maker, you
" were ſhy to magnify your office by eſpouſ-
" ing his cauſe, or ſtanding forth advocates for
" conſcience, for immortality, for a ſyſtem
" which combines and conſummates the
" felicity of creatures and the majeſty of
" the Creator, his government and their
" perfection, all the acquiſitions of good-
" neſs, and all the exigencies of humanity.

" Inſtead of maintaining the high em-
" baſſy you bore, and managing the im-
" portant concerns of intelligent and im-
" mortal creatures with the dignity and
" manlineſs becoming his ſervice, whoſe
" agents you were, reprobating vice in
" every ſhape, and expoſing vanity in every
" ſhow, you amuſed us with ſmooth things,
" propheſied deceits, and lulling us a-ſleep
" by theſe deceitful opiates, betrayed us
" into final impenitence and ruin.

" In the great conflict between right and
" wrong, was the part you took open and
" decided, or the conduct you obſerved

" deliberate, perſevering and firm? Ra-
" ther were you not alternately the mere
" ſlaves of cenſure and flattery? You did
" not lead us, from faſhion to principle,
" from viſions to realities, from ſounds to
" ſubſtances, from modes to manners, and
" from circumſtances to eſſentials; but
" you pampered our pride, indulged our
" caprice, humoured our paſſions, and
" nurſed the corruptions which it was
" your duty to eradicate and ſubdue. Had
" you imbibed the genius of your maſter,
" conformed your mind to his, imitated
" his purity, and raiſed your views and
" purſuits to his grandeur, independence
" and magnanimity of mind, practiſed his
" ſimplicity, candour and humanity; been
" as ſuperior to intereſt, and as averſe to the
" creeping intrigues of the vile and venal, to
" wealth, indulgence and popularity, as he
" was; your ſanctity and benevolence muſt
" have charmed our affections, and ſmitten
" us with the genuine love of goodneſs, ex-
" torted approbation from the worthleſs,
" and won it from the worthy.

" Perceiving

" Perceiving however nothing in your " piety but ſhow and grimace, in your " profeſſion but craft and conceit, in your " deportment but loftineſs and diſdain, in " your deſigns but obliquity and ambi- " tion, in your lives but a burleſque on " your creed; we believed the whole to " be what we ſaid it was, a cheat, and to " this ſhocking deluſion, ſacrificed all the " preſent can yield, or the future promiſe.

" You indulged yourſelves in ſuch habits " of negligence, omiſſion, and audacious " contempt for the ſerious and awful con- " cerns committed to your care, as you " could not but condemn and deteſt in your " own ſervants or thoſe of others; and the " wit of man could not have deviſed a " more effectual expedient for rendering us " refractory, irreligious and worthleſs.

" How could we be dutiful and fill our " ſubordinate ſtations uſefully with rebel- " lion againſt the moſt high God, aggra- " vated by the groſſeſt violation of the " ſtrongeſt engagements, to be for him and " not for another, even in the miniſters of " his will, who ruled in his name, wore

" his

" his livery, and ſerved at his altar; con-
" ſtantly before our eyes. Was it from
" traitors we could learn docilty, from
" knaves honeſty, from breakers of oaths
" the ſacredneſs of an oath, from liars ve-
" racity; or from conſpirators againſt all au-
" thority, ſubmiſſion to that which is law-
" ful?

" How often and aptly have you been
" compared to water, which by cleanſing
" others, only becomes more foul; to a file
" which by ſharpening the edge of tools
" loſeth its own; to waymarks which offer
" direction but continue ſtationary; to
" lanterns which give light but remain
" dark; to ſtones which emit fire, but are
" ſtill cold and hard; to the lame who ex-
" poſe their infirmities only by motion;
" and to thoſe who aſſiſted in building the
" ark for ſaving others, but were them-
" ſelves drowned.

" We were diſguſted and grievouſly of-
" fended, as well as debauched and de-
" ſtroyed, by your inſignificance, your pre-
" ſumption, your inhumanity, your mono-
" polizing the profits and doing ſo little of

" the

" the work; your leaving ſuch as are your
" inferiors only in intereſt, wealth or con-
" nections, and have no view but poverty,
" and no ſpur to diligence but need; to toil
" much and live hard, drudge ſeverely and
" eat ſparingly; do all your ſpiritual duty
" and reap little or nothing of your tem-
" poral emolument.

" What have we not ſuffered and ſtill
" ſuffer from your crimes who are bound
" to be holy and harmleſs; your foul hands
" which ſhould always be clean; your laſ-
" civious manners which ſhould be ſpotleſs,
" elevated, and upright; your dark and
" crooked minds for ever brooding on the
" ſordid acquiſitions of place and power,
" which ſhould be great, dignified, wiſe
" and enlightened; your ſervile, fantaſtic,
" and flagitious characters, which ſhould be
" grave, venerable, weighty and illuſtrious?

" Theſe are faults for which the moſt
" tranſcendant endowments could not atone,
" which we could not but ſee, or contem-
" plate without injury. They debaſed and
" miſled our apprehenſions of duty; alie-
" nated our affections from the plain and

" beaten

" beaten paths of rectitude; defaced or tar-
" niſhed the native luſtre of goodneſs and
" truth, and prepoſſeſſed our infatuated ſouls
" againſt every thing ſacred and divine.

" Had you even acted in private with
" unblemiſhed honour, and diſcharged all
" your relative and domeſtic obligations
" with unexceptionable probity, your want
" of earneſtneſs in fulfilling the ends of
" your office, and giving the clerical in-
" ſtitution all the influence it was meant
" to poſſeſs; your exhauſting thoſe talents
" and opportunities, and all the endow-
" ments of mind, body and eſtate which
" were given for the benefit of mankind,
" on object or aims, vain, frivolous, uſe-
" leſs, pernicious; your proſtituting thoſe
" cares, aſſiduities and pains in exciting
" and cheriſhing the ſeditious paſſion, of
" others and your own, which you ſwore
" to occupy only in ſpiritual matters, and
" which you were bound in honour and
" conſcience to employ in doing good of-
" fices among all about you, clearing the
" doubts, ſoothing the horrors, allaying
" the heats, abating the animoſities, me-
" liorating

" liorating the diſcontents, conciliating the
" tempers; curing the ignorance and quaſh-
" ing the reſentments of an irritated and
" irritable populace; the fatigues you have
" endured, and the variety of dirty work you
" have done to depreciate us and abandon
" yourſelves of all excuſe; make us not in-
" nocent, but you culpable; clear not us of
" folly and blame, but load you with a
" double portion of our guilt, and all your
" own."

Far be it from me to confound the innocent with the guilty, or to ſuppoſe among ſo many, ſome may not deſerve to be excepted. In a ſociety carried away by a current thus violent and irreſiſtible, great allowance is doubtleſs due, to the peculiar circumſtances of individuals. Very few are bleſſed with nerve enough to withſtand even the ſilly maxims of faſhion, or the vulgar contagion of vicious example; much leſs the terrors of perſecution, or the formidable mandates of thoſe in power. Like ſheep among wolves, they muſt either howl as others do, or be devoured.

# DISCOURSE NINTH.

## MORALITY.

*No national proſperity without morals—Morality a ſocial aptitude—Defective among the ancients—Derives all its majeſty from the goſpel—Incompatible with modern refinement—Pageantry—Heroes—Heroiſm—Conſcience.*

FOOD is not more eſſential to life, than morality to nations. It is palpably implicated in all the objects of original ſociety, and never relinquiſhed in the progreſs of civilization, without convulſions and anarchy. No modification of authority, no laws, no conſtitution, however wiſe, or juſt, or prudently executed, afford competent ſecurity for life or property, or any of all our natural or acquired rights, in the abſence of that confidence which all the members of ſociety ought to cultivate, to preſerve and to exerciſe aſſiduouſly in the humanity, veracity, juſtice, and

and benevolence of each other. And a more perfect idea of a ſtate or commonwealth cannot be conceived, than where theſe and all their collateral virtues, are thus ſubſtantially and practically realized. The glorious empire of univerſal righteouſneſs would then acquire conſummate and laſting eſtabliſhment; governments be carried on without craft, ambiguity or intrigue; nations be proſperous without armies; the world flouriſh in peace and felicity, without war or victories, and all do their duties in their reſpective ſituations from a hearty concern for the public welfare, without venality, and without coercion.

But what is this morality, which is capable of effecting ſo much good, and in the abſence of which, every evil may be expected? Is it to be collected from ſchools, colleges, or cabals of metaphyſical atheiſts and political madmen? Does it conſiſt in verbal definitions, logical quibbles, ſophiſms, logomachies, dogmas, or the dilemmas of literary wranglers? Are we to ſeek for it among the theories, inventions, and conjectures

jectures of hypothetical reaſoners; the fabricators of ſyſtems, or the leaders of ſectaries, viſionaries, zealots, or materialiſts?

Who does not admire the excurſions of genius, the only orb in nature which never moves but in a ſphere of its own creation? Wherever it leads we are eager to follow; whatever it explains or illuſtrates, we contemplate with pleaſure, and we are always happy to mingle in its train, to feel its charms, and to do it homage. No ſpeculation is ſo idle and abſtruſe, but taſte and eloquence will render intereſting. It is from this ſource, that even the chimeras of the learned, have derived credit and plauſibility. Lunatics occaſionally diſplay very reſpectable talents in conſtructing their toys of ſtraw. And men in a ſtate of ſecond childhood, muſt like children, be amuſed with rattles of ſome ſort or other, and perhaps, few playthings can be more harmleſs, as aſſuredly none can be more uſeleſs than modern ſyſtems of moral philoſophy.

It

It is by narrowing herſelf in the purſuit of ſuch exquiſite ſubtilties as theſe, that the mind grows negligent of more important avocations, and even callous to the ſweeteſt ſympathies of humanity; that long accuſtomed to one tract, her movements have little or no liberality in any other; that her operations debaſe and bias the beſt natural temper; that her feelings are compreſſed and depraved; and that habits of faſtidiouſneſs are contracted. Pride and peeviſhneſs unavoidably tinge the languor and wearineſs reſulting from mental exertion, with ſome degree of ill humour and aſperity. And the heart, ſuffering extremity from ills only feigned and foreſeen, is naturally impatient and fretful under thoſe that are real.

Thus men abſorbed in abſtract ſcience, in cloſe ſtudy, or in any of the learned profeſſions, are in general but little qualified for the more laborious and active duties of life. And of all the celebrated characters who have philoſophiſed moſt ſucceſsfully on human nature, and formed the ſublimeſt

theories of ethics, few perhaps will be found, who have literally and correctly exemplified their own precepts. Indeed, real practical morals are ſeldom taught effectually by academics in their libraries, authors in their cloſets, or monks in their cells. It is not from ſuch nurſeries as theſe, often are, of characters, creeds and novices moſt perfectly worthleſs and flagitious, that rules of probity and happineſs are to be drawn. From theſe, France is peopled with atheiſts, and all Europe actually teems with their admirers, their pupils, their apologiſts, their emiſſaries, and their miſſionaries. And the ſcions of ſo old a ſtock, ſeem capable of thriving equally in every ſoil.

Where then ſhall we look for that wiſdom, which conſiſts *in thinking right and acting well?* Not ſurely in the profoundeſt reveries of laborious dulneſs, the quaint refinements of acrimonious pedantry, the ſplenetic prudery of literary demagogues, much leſs in the orgies of intemperate

ſyſtems

ſyſtems of equality, or plots of anarchy and murder!

Alas! wherever we find clubs of cadaverous adventurers, made up of theſe claſſes; in temper turbulent, eager, choleric, bitter, dogmatic, and loquacious; in manners fierce, forbidding, harſh, daring, and vulgar; and in appearance ſordid, ſottiſh, and ferocious; inſtead of diſcovering a ſociety of liberal and enlightened minds, ſages, politicians, and moral philoſophers, we have put our head in a neſt of harpies, or hornets, or a gang of knaves, who wiſh to make the ſtate better, ſolely that they may the more eaſily become worſe; pull others down, that they may themſelves get up; and demoliſh every ſpecies of ſubordination and eſtabliſhment, that they may riot in the ſpoil.

Surely ſuch a banditti as this, muſt reflect indelible diſhonour on any perſon or party, who can ſtoop to employ them, and fill the world with diſguſt at the beſt men and the beſt meaſures, were it poſſible for their intereſt or ſervice to be no better ſupported!

ported! But, indeed, wherever ſo deſperate a crew has ought to ſay or do, no ſyſtem can be good, no characters pure, no principles juſt. And is it not fitting and right, that irreligion ſhould be the ſtandard and badge of treaſon; that the leaſt worthy ſhould always be moſt cenſorious; that the loudeſt outcry againſt government ſhould come from ſuch as have leaſt to loſe, and can be leaſt oppreſſed; that they ſhould be moſt earneſt after popular ſuffrage, who are leaſt prepared for ſtanding a ſcrutiny; that public virtue ſhould be moſt affected by ſuch as have moſt private vices; that democracy, impiety, a vicious life, and a refractory ſpirit ſhould never be disjoined; and that the ſtrongeſt advocates for libertiniſm ſhould every where be the boldeſt blaſphemers of their Maker, and the fouleſt libellers of his ſervants?

Does not all this prove, that the grand drift of unqualified ambition, and every ſpecies of political quackery, can be no other than general immorality, and that all its ſhades and ſophiſtries are calculated only

only to darken our underſtandings and pollute our hearts; to weaken our beſt, and ſtrengthen our worſt paſſions; to deaden every ſenſe of duty, and to worm us by degrees out of all thoſe principles which are the light, the ſtaff, and the ſalt of life?

By a ſimilar gradation in the multiplied acceſſions of iniquity, we ſee in France what was never ſeen before in any part of the world, a government without law, a policy without religion, a kingdom without a church, and a populace without morals.

What rendered the philoſophy of Socrates, at once ſo ſublime and acceptable? Its purity, ſimplicity, and practicabilty had no precedent, and could not be reſiſted. He taught his fellow creatures, not what many had a mighty deſire to know, but what all were chiefly concerned to do, their preſent duty and higheſt intereſt, how to live and how to die. He detached the ſpeculations of his diſciples from theory, and engaged them in regulating the ordinary buſineſs of life. The lofty and in-

comprehenſible nonſenſe of cotemporaries he ſucceſsfully expoſed and exploded. He impreſſed the world with the utility and wiſdom of turning every thing to ſome account, the improvement of time, the application of talent, and the beſt means of happineſs. And he prevailed pretty generally in fixing in the minds of men, a ſtrong and ſettled perſuaſion, that all the acquiſitions of letters and philoſophy, as well as thoſe of fortune, were uſeleſs but in as much as they contributed to the felicity of individuals, and the perfection of ſociety.

This glorious enterprize thus imperfectly begun, was afterwards completed by the obſcure ſon of an obſcure carpenter, born and bred in a mean cottage, among a mean people, in the petty kingdom of Paleſtine. Before the holy Meſſiah, notwithſtanding the humiliating circumſtances of his birth and education, all the aerial and evaneſcent theories of ancient metaphyſics and refinement, inſtantaneouſly melted away. His philoſophy was deſigned for

for common uſe, and accommodated to the neceſſities of all the world. He ſpeaks openly to all men, and lifts up his voice to the whole human race. His ſayings and maxims, every where full of majeſty and grace, impreſs our ſouls with wonder and gratitude, call forth the nobleſt affections, excite and regulate the beſt propenſities of our natures, and detach our hearts, our talents, our preferences, and our ſervices from all the intereſts of low party, and all mean and wicked combinations againſt the wiſhes and welfare of others. He inculcates univerſal love and the moſt diffuſive kindneſs, in imitation of divine goodneſs and mercy which ſpread themſelves over, and embrace all the works of God. He explains our duty in all its branches, bearings, and iſſues in the cleareſt, and enforces it in the moſt powerful and perſuaſive manner. His morality is that of principle and the heart, the uniſon of pure minds, the ſpring of virtuous councils, and the criterion of honourable conduct. It imparts to our common nature, tenderneſs and

dignity, ſweetens the intercourſe of ſociety, ſanctions pleaſure, mitigates pain, diſcloſes all our reſources, and ſhews us all our ſtrength, gives vivacity to our ſpirits, vigour to our hopes, cheerfulneſs to the heart, and clearneſs to the head. It directs our beſt diſpoſitions to their proper objects, and us, in the beſt uſe of all our faculties, ties our neareſt relations cloſer, enhances the value of all whom God and nature command us to love, heightens every tender endearment, multiplies all our joys, and leſſens all our ſorrows, by dividing them, as the force of a river is broken by running into different channels. Its aim is to combine and unite all the ſons and daughters of men, ſcattered up and down upon the face of the whole earth into one ſacred family, harmonize them into one body, inſpire them with one ſoul, rule them in virtue by virtuous laws, and under the auſpices of benignity and peace, conduct them in the paths of piety and obedience, to glory, honour and immortality. It is a refuge in every ſtorm, quietude in the midſt of clamour, confi-

dence

dence under calumny and reproach, ſafety in danger, eaſe in trouble, and a clue to guide us through all the intricate mazes of life, which without this cheering fire were dark and comfortleſs, without this pleaſing reliſh, flat and inſipid. No other ſyſtem of equality but this, is competent to collect and cement the diſcordant intereſts of high and low, and rich and poor. It brings all to their true level without refinement or exemption, and prompts them ſeverally, to emulate and excel one another, in doing all the good and remedying all the evil they can. It amaſſes the improvements of all into one heap or bank, for the common ſtock, ſecurity and benefit of all.

Such are the morals and politics of the goſpel, which place our nature in its higheſt ſtate of cultivation, and ſhew the human faculties, however ſituated, combined or exerted, in their utmoſt poliſh and capacity. And no ſociety in the world was ever amiable, agreeable, eligible, or preferable for effecting the happineſs of the ſpecies, but in proportion as it imbibed the genius

genius of chriſtianity, and was governed by her laws, compacted by her virtues, or in ſome degree, conſtituted by ſuch as are enlightened with her doſtrines, formed on her temper, and elevated by her proſpects.

In theſe homely but divine precepts, ſo eaſy and intelligible to the loweſt and leaſt informed, ſo intereſting to the human heart, and ſo beautifully accommodated to the exigencies of our nature, no reference is made to the ſhadow of ought beyond the reach of common ſenſe. Here we expect in vain, to find a ſolution of all the idle, intricate, or impious inquiries which have ſo frequently embarraſſed this important diſcuſſion: Ah! what matters it to me who am hungry, from what principle he acts, whoſe bounty relieves my wants, whoſe kindneſs cheers my heart, and whoſe goodneſs is to me as the fountain is to the ſtream, as light to the blind, and life to the dead? How is it of the leaſt conſequence whether my ſervice is performed from liberal or mercenary motives, or whether my debtor diſcharges his bond from an impulſe of honour,

nour, or a dread of the penalty? In the buſy ſcenes of active life, men concern not themſelves ſo much about the origin as the reality of virtue. Perhaps the only ſituation in which an honeſt man can remain unknown, or derive no credit from his honeſty is among viſionaries, philoſophers, fataliſts and republicans.

Talk they of morals? O thou bleeding love!
Thou maker of new morals to mankind!
The great morality is love of thee.
As wiſe as Socrates, if ſuch they were,
(Nor will they bate of that ſublime renown,
As wiſe as Socrates might juſtly ſtand
The definition of a modern fool.
A chriſtian is the higheſt ſtate of man.
And is there, who the bleſſed croſs wipes off
As a foul blot, from his diſhonoured brow?
If angels tremble 'tis at ſuch a ſight:
The wretch they quit, deſponding of their charge,
More ſtruck with grief or wonder who can tell?
Night Thoughts.

The Gallic policy which has lately prevailed is a chaos of crimes, the bare recital of which, would fill a volume. Surely the

the hiſtory of no country was ever debaſed and bloated by a picture ſo ſhocking as this direful catalogue preſents. Every ſtep in the progreſs of ſo ſtrange a work is marked, by a rapid ſucceſſion of all the blackeſt vices to be found in the ſuit of the moſt abandoned ambition! The only apology of which they are capable is, that the law was *aſleep*, and ſo may every culprit allege who claps a piſtol to your head on the high way. Neither are theſe the deeds of the nation, but of the faction under whoſe oppreſſion ſhe bleeds and groans, and who thus proſtitute an uſurped authority, to ſatiate the incenſed cruelty of a few fataliſts who would elude the odium they incur, by fixing their guilt on the country at large.

It was well, to remove from theſe groupes of horror his holy goſpel which breathes nothing even to the guilty, but pardon and peace! So much mercy would have been ſtrangely miſplaced amidſt ſo much cruelty. From ſuch a pure mirror the actors alſo in this hideous drama, might not always deem

it

it convenient to ſee themſelves thus faithfully pourtrayed. Of creatures much more reſpectable than men drunk with ambition, it is reported, they never contemplate their own image but it puts them in a rage, and they fly againſt the inſtrument which they think inſults them, and daſh it to pieces.

Ah! and have not this devoted people always lived in a ſhell as brittle as glaſs, which, in ſpite of all their fantaſtic gaiety, has long diſcloſed their enormities, and which like glaſs too, has at laſt inflicted the moſt deadly wounds, by going to ſhivers about their ears?

All the annals of mankind, exhibit no ſuch exception to the divine government, as their conduct during the ſhort period of the revolution. In their folly and cruelty, the wiſdom and benevolence of Providence are totally eclipſed. They exhibit a ſpectacle which confounds our underſtandings, ſtaggers our firmeſt hopes, and fills our anxious hearts with grief and deſpondency. Why are ſo many millions of rational creatures thus abruptly bereft of virtue and good-

goodneſs? To what evil dæmon ſhall we attribute this dreadful phænomenon? Can ſo much miſery and horror in effect, coaleſce with Almighty goodneſs, in the cauſe; be the work of infinite mercy, or even ſuffered to exiſt, under the reign of ſupreme paternal rectitude?

Where ſhall we find a ſatisfactory ſolution to a difficulty thus ſerious and perplexing? What is the meaning of all we ſee and hear? Is not all nature the organ of its benevolent Author, and in every aſpect ſhe exhibits, he ſays, the kindeſt things to the tendereſt hearts. Does not even reaſon tell us that happineſs dwells with hope, that every ſcene we fill has a bright as well as a black ſide, and that nature invariably enjoins our preference of whatever yields ſuperior enjoyment? Nothing here is unmixed. All objects and all their qualities are jumbled and confounded. The whole moral world is a ſort of compound, which he only who made it, is competent to ſimplify and analyſe. Who can ſay under what impulſe theſe ſons of Belial acted, by

by what infernal fury they were fired, or to the rage of what fiend they were ultimately given up? But ſore eyes cannot be more hurt by the light of the ſun, than they unavoidably were by the luſtre, in which all the awful realities of a ſpiritual and inviſible ſyſtem, blazed around them. "We "hate," they ſaid, "to be every where "put out of countenance by the power-"ful and commanding evidence of what-"ever we wiſh to be falſe. All our pre-"poſſeſſion for things unſeen and to come, "are abſorbed in the ſophiſtry we would "propagate. But indications of their ex-"iſtence, their importance, and the dread-"ful intereſt we have in them, inſult, con-"found and overpower us. Every ſenſible "object, every aſpect of the ſpecies in the "rudeſt and moſt poliſhed ſtages of ſociety, "has only hitherto corroborated all thoſe "appearances in nature which ſubſtantiate a "firſt cauſe, a wiſe direction, and a be-"nign iſſue. Our philoſophy has already "delivered us from all political and moral "obli-

" obligation, diveſted us of all the forms of
" civility, the law of its penalties, and
" the magiſtrate of his power; the only
" chain which yet remains to be broken
" is conſcience, which hangs about us
" like an angry ghoſt, whom nothing can
" appeaſe or ſilence; which faſtens our at-
" tention at all times on the moſt diſtreſſ-
" ing intimations of an hereafter, big with
" ſufferings the more alarming that they
" are unknown; which haunts us where-
" ever we go, criminates whatever we do,
" and is only the more fierce and inexora-
" ble, the more its clamours are ſtiffled,
" or its menaces deſpiſed. Religion hath
" ſeated it in our hearts, interwoven it
" with all our feelings, and armed it with
" weapons that inflict the moſt incurable
" and excruciating wounds. Let us there-
" fore get rid of religion, and ſupply its
" place by a ſyſtem more accordant to our
" paſſions; a ſyſtem that may brand the
" pureſt aſpirations of piety, with the odious
" name of ſuperſtition; a ſyſtem which
" by giving us rulers, hath a guillotine in

" one

" one hand and famine in the other, has
" reduced all to an equality of beggary and
" vaſſalage. It made us atheiſts, then
" traitors, parricides next, and next aſſaſ-
" ſins; and now by way of finiſhing the
" honourable climax, it robs us of our
" ſouls, and leaves us as low and loſt as
" the brutes that periſh. Nothing even
" in a world overrun with wickedneſs, ever
" gave ſo flat a negative to all that is good.
" We will follow it up, with a practice as
" atrocious as the theory, and exem-
" plify by our conduct, the wildeſt conclu-
" ſions, that our wildeſt innovators hitherto
" vainly endeavoured to eſtabliſh. Our
" lives ſhall prove that Baillé, Voltaire,
" Rouſſeau, and the whole ſchool of
" materialiſm did not ſpeculate for nought.
" Their diſciples at leaſt ſhall not be re-
" duced to the dilemma of arguing like
" them without a precedent. But from
" the inſtitutions of an enlightened philo-
" ſophy, far be the bugbear of human
" imbecility, the ſuggeſtions of melan-
" choly, the inventions of fraud, or any

" of all thoſe aids, which former legiſla-
" tors have drawn from the fictions of
" futurity. Ours are the dictates of rea-
" ſon without paſſion, nature without arti-
" fice and intelligence without ſcepticiſm or
" uncertainty. That we may demonſtrate
" ourſelves ſuperior to all ſorts of preju-
" dice, we will eſtabliſh a deſpotiſm of
" abſolute terror by the engine, not of
" any ſubſequent, but immediate puniſh-
" ment. The enterprize in which we
" are engaged admits of no relaxation. It
" is an object to which all others muſt be
" ſacrificed without heſitation or reluc-
" tance. We are committed, and the
" only maxim by which we act and hang
" together, is, kill or be killed. Who-
" ever ſtartles, ſhrinks, or recoils at the
" blows that muſt be ſtruck, ſtorming the
" Thuilleries, and maſſacreing the guards,
" the proceedings of the common council
" of Paris, arreſts and impriſonments, do-
" miciliary viſits, the martyrdom of the
" prieſts, the butchery in the priſons, the
" proſcription or liſt of the victims, all

" the

" the immolations that followed the re-
" gicide, and the various aggravations
" which attended its completion, and the
" ſhocking ſeries of decapitations, with
" which the guillotine has inceſſantly
" groaned, ever ſince, deſerve at once
" to be ſuſpected and denounced."

It was impoſſible the two ſacred and venerable ſyſtems of natural religion and chriſtianity, ſhould both make their exit as they have lately done, from this conſpicuous theatre of infanity, ſacrilege, and blaſphemy, but in circumſtances ſtrikingly combined of moſt unexampled carnage and conſternation! When the Saviour of the world expired, nature ſympathized in palpable agony! His ſalvation is renounced, and libations of human blood ſolemnize the apoſtacy!

Would to God, theſe ſhocking facts were buried in everlaſting oblivion, ſo foul a ſtain on the memory of the preſent generation wholly wiped away, and poſterity not laid under the unnatural neceſſity of execrating the guilt of their forefathers.

But blood crieth unto blood, in a voice, which, like the laſt trumpet, ſhall reach the utmoſt boundaries of the univerſe, and make the ears of the laſt ſurvivors of our race to tingle!

Thus, notwithſtanding, all the light derived from the amiable and ſublime virtues of revelation, and all the ſubſequent improvements and diſcoveries in every branch of natural and moral ſcience, for a ſeries of near two thouſand years, the greateſt monſters of cruelty who have drenched their reſpective countries in tears and ſorrow, are actually outdone in ferocity, even at the end of the eighteenth century, by people of the firſt diſtinction in taſte and literature, and in the moſt enlightened nation of Europe. It was thus, that the ancient Grecians ſtigmatized the whole world as ſavages and barbarians, while they certainly had themſelves no competitors in refinements of cruelty.

Surely the time cannot be very diſtant, when theſe quack-patriots ſhall be dragged from

from the cover which now conceals them, and procure, by a genuine expoſure of what they are, what they are after, and what they have done; the general abhorrence which their hearts tell them they deſerve, when every fibre of their frame ſhall be ſhaken and wrung by an exact preſentment of their own likeneſs, and when all their overt acts ſhall be ſtated, before a miniſter of juſtice who will try them openly and freely, whoſe proceedings all their intereſt can neither interrupt nor bias, and the execution of whoſe mandate, none of their revolutionary agencies or movements can for a moment, either defeat or delay.

Indeed the higheſt pinnacle of ambition ill acquired is forthe moſt part, but ill reliſhed by the greateſt favourites of fortune. The treachery, the outrage, and the turpitude, by which they riſe, pierce their hearts, and load their ſpirits with unutterable apprehenſion, and they often writhe like ſo many criminals in torture, even in all the ſtatelineſs and plentitude of power. Habits of profound knavery, minds

perfectly deſtitute of honour and principle, and characters black with crimes, may long cheriſh and yield a ſort of ſpecious ſupport to the callous qualities of profligacy. Under the tyranny of a temper thus flagitious, apathetic and daring, all the checks of earth and heaven are unavailable. Like men, caſed in armour, they are prepared for perpretating every depredation on property or life which juſtice cannot reach, or which do not immediately brand them with public infamy.

Thus dreadful is the purchaſe of unhallowed ambition! But ſooner or later murder will be out. Then is the ſpell of the vileſt hypocrite diſſolved, and his cloſeſt fraud unveiled. Conſcience ſometimes antedates their doom, lifts up its torch, ſhews them of what mettle they are made, and even lays open all that is baſe, in a falſe, a proud, a griping, and a rancorous heart. It blows upon the miſer's hoards, and the villain's plot, laſhes the moſt phlegmatic into feeling, and preſents the moſt ſucceſsful ruffians as a competent douceur for

for all their ſervices, with deſpair and a halter.

Though their natures be as fell and ſanguinary as that of the tiger and hyæna, they muſt expect at laſt to be abandoned, perhaps both of God and man. What then, in caſting up their final account, is the mighty amount of all their criminal and painful drudgeries? The very beſt that can happen, and it never happens but to a few, is, that for a while perhaps, they are deluged with ſuperfluities; the rankeſt luxuries keep tumbling in upon them from all quarters, like filth into a common ſewer. They roll in wealth. Whatever they touch may turn to gold. Wherever they go, the tide of popularity may ſwell and waft them along, amidſt the ſhouts and plaudits of a croud, under the cozenage of their creatures, their hirelings or their aſſaſſins.

Who can tell, for what purpoſe they are permitted to eſcape ſo long, the condign puniſhment they merit? Providence for wiſe, but myſterious ends, may ſuffer them to be thus plagued with a ſuperabun-

dance of all good things, that they may ſometime riot the more ſecurely in their crimes, and the dreadful meaſure of their guilt and miſery be full; to exemplify the utmoſt extent of human atrocity, and that their fall, may be like that of Lucifer never to riſe again.

Cruel ambition! into what a frightful gulph haſt thou always plunged thy votaries! The object which allures and fires them from afar, even when maſtered, is but a painted ſepulchre full of dead mens bones. The vapour they inceſſantly graſp urges but to mock their efforts, and the malignity of their deſtiny glues them to the lips of a cockatrice. Unhappy men! whatever abuſes and ſtupifies your ſenſes, intoxicates your hearts or inflames your paſſions, are all illuſive and chimerical? Your eyes are dazzled with the proſpect of empire and grandeur, of riches and power, of dignity and homage; but ye little think of the forfeited heads, ruined fortunes, impoveriſhed and degraded families, abandoned and vagabond relations of others, engaged from

from ſimilar motives in the ſame black and deſperate deſigns! The tragedy is likely to be as deep in the concluſion, as the prologue has been promiſing. The wayward courſe of this ruthleſs paſſion, is ever like a winter's day, in which the morning is often clear and ſerene, but the evening always cloudy and diſmal!

How long ſhall mankind be duped by the pageantry of falſe appearance, and dignify the perpetration of guilt with the pompous title of ſhining actions? It is an imbecility interwoven with the human frame, to be ſtruck with the boldneſs of enterprize, and to regard what is vulgarly called heroiſm, with a ſort of ecſtacy, as the weak do homage to the ſtrong, children to parents, and women to ſoldiers—"Glo-"rious men" ſays Lord Bacon "are the "ſcorn of wiſe men, the admiration of "fools, the idols of paraſites, and the "ſlaves of their own vaunts."

By this feeling, which all the forms of artificial life are calculated to cheriſh, Greece and Rome are inveſted with immortal diſtinction.

tinction. Both theſe wonderful ſtates originated in a canaille of robbers, who, in proceſs of time, like other felons in ſimilar circumſtances, coaleſced their reſpective gangs for common ſafety and common plunder. The plot ſucceeded, their numbers encreaſed, and theſe dens of thieves, ſoon became each a mighty empire, which, retaining the lawleſs habits of its founders, ſoon picked a quarrel with all its neighbours and reduced them to ſubjection.

Then might be ſeen, hordes of armed miſcreants iſſuing from all its frontiers, as from one vaſt encampment, headed or led on, by ſo many firebrands with ardour and ferocity enough, to ſet the whole world on fire. Admiration attends them wherever they go, and the air is rent by ſhouts of triumph at whatever they do! The greateſt outrages are conſtantly ſanctioned by ſucceſs, and one enormity only prepares for another; juſtice is every where ſuperſeded by force; nothing eſcapes in the ſhape of a foe, no life or property is ſacred but that of a friend; there is no guilt but cowardice, no virtue but inhumanity,

manity, no victims but the innocent. By this banditti our miſerable globe is overrun; fire and ſlaughter mark their footſteps, and herds of harmleſs ſocieties or groups of ſhepherds, farmers, or fiſhermen, who gave no moleſtation, and could excite no jealouſly, like ſo many inoffenſive flocks are made to *kiſs the hand juſt lifted up to ſhed their blood.* Under the conduct of an Alexander, a Marius, an Hannibal, a Scipio, or a Cæſar, whoſe principal merit conſiſted in carrying on the horrid buſineſs with ſuperior dexterity and diſpatch, they are uniformly hailed and embraced by an infatuated world, in terms of acknowledgement and adulation! Their generals are extolled and celebrated, as heroes; the carnage in which they involve the ſpecies, as heroiſm, and the periods diſtinguiſhed by the depredations of ſuch monſters, as heroic ages!

But even while he thus treads on the necks of empires, involves the world in ſlaughter and conſternation, and arrogates to himſelf the prerogatives of a god, what is the higheſt and mightieſt of this hectoring

ing tribe but a paſſing vapour, a ruſhing whirlwind, or at moſt, the ſudden irruption of a tempeſt, which a breath accumulates, and a breath exhauſts!

The whole hiſtory of theſe ſanguinary troublers of our earth, thoſe poliſhed ravagers, whoſe crimes are made claſſical by the proſtitution of genius, is nothing more than one vaſt collection of invaſions, robberies, treaſons and ſpoils, conſecrated to what is vulgarly called *glory*; or a monument in which are depoſited not their relics only who were once the great and renowned, but what is infinitely more ſhocking, ſophiſms, deluſions, and lies! We are ſtill blinded by the glaring picture, which, though beſmeared with blood, is enveloped in volumes of the moſt beautiful drapery; but one moment's cool reflection puts all its meretricious decorations aſide and ſhews it in its true colours, a bloated tranſcript of ambition diſhonourable to our nature, and ſhocking to our hearts. How is it we delight to gaze on warriors and conquerors in cars of triumph, ſurrounded by their honourable

nourable co-adjutors in maſſacre, while we ſhudder at the ſight of aſſaſſins, black as Vulcan, and deformed as Therſites? Both are murderers, and the latter though leſs courtly and poliſhed than the former, are more honeſt, as more in character, and more like their buſineſs.

It is thus that the objects of human vanity are appreciated above their value, by thoſe who look on every thing through the baſe medium of corrupted paſſions; as the ancient pagans conſecrated their affections, their deſires, and even their vices, and placed them among the gods. Alas! when ſhall our infatuated race be able to diſcriminate their ſaviours from their deſtroyers? Why are not birds alſo fond of a kite, geeſe of a fox, and lambs of a wolf?

"Then, conſcience, do thy work. "Theſe deſperados triumph in defiance "of all the ſanctions by which the laws "of God and man are enforced. Fill "their apprehenſions with fearful antici-"pations of futurity. Point out their

"guilt

" guilt by their cowardice. Make them
" take men for ghoſts, children for lions,
" and every living thing for hobgoblins
" or guillotines. May the ſea and the
" land, the heavens and the earth preſent
" to their view, nothing but voracious
" monſters, vengeful ſpectres, and hideous
" combinations of diſtraction and horror.
" In the very chirping of birds, may
" they hear the cries of murder and inno-
" cent blood. Speak to them in ſuch a
" voice of thunder as may ſtun their ſen-
" ſes, rouſe their reaſon from its lethargy,
" and appal their wretched ſouls with all
" thy terrors. Haſt thou not a ſcourge
" and a rack for every vice, matured into
" ſyſtem by age and experience, as well
" as remorſe, for every exceſs of juvenile
" depravity? Keep no ſilence at the one
" or the other, but know thy power, ful-
" fil thy truſt, and do thy duty. Long
" have they trifled with thy beheſts, ſup-
" preſſed thy murmurs, and deſpiſed thy
" menaces. Read their indictment to
" their face, and confront them with a
" faith-

" faithful detail of all the black articles
" on record againſt them. Leave them
" not a moment; deprive them of all ſub-
" terfuge and reſource, and give them no
" quiet or quarter by night or day. Spare
" not their ſleeping or their waking
" thoughts. When they think, may it
" be of priſons, prieſts, maſſacres, aſſaſ-
" ſins, and guillotines. May darkneſs im-
" preſs them with an image of that place,
" where the ſhadows never flee away, and
" the light of that evidence by which their
" crimes ſhall be revealed, and which ſhall
" ultimately flaſh confuſion in their face.
" Diſturb their repoſe in the night, by
" frightful apparitions, and their enjoy-
" ments through the day, by a troubled
" mind. Go wherever they are, and make
" whatever they taſte bitter; purſue where-
" ever they flee, and render all their hopes
" fallacious. Open their eyes to all the
" miſeries they have wrought, which
" thicken round and hedge them in on
" every ſide. Shew them in every friend
" an enemy, in every buſh a fury, in every

" fury

" fury a devil, and in every devil an aven-
" ger of blood. Be in their boſom the
" worm that never dies; and in hearts
" where ſuch paſſions boil, where ſuch
" evils hatch, and where ſuch malignity
" rankles, kindle that fire, and blow up
" thoſe flames which no time ſhall cool,
" and no devils extinguiſh."

It is done! They are bribed with pre-eminence and power, and robbed at once of honour and of peace. They have gained the ſummit, but it is only that their fall may be the more tremendous. Their dominion is ample, but they are the ſlaves of inordinate paſſion. The people hail them only the louder now, that they may curſe them more bitterly hereafter. Their treaſons have made them known, and got them fame, but have at the ſame time blaſted their reputation and ruined their ſouls. They even ſeem born to ſubſtantiate the boldeſt fables of antiquity. They are faſtened by temerity to the wheel on which Jupiter puniſhed Ixion; preſumption, which in the ſhape of a vulture devoured the liver

of

of Prometheus as faſt as it grew, preys on theirs; and inordinate ambition ſubjects them to all the hunger and thirſt which tormented Tantalus, with cluſters of fruit in his view, and water to his chin.

What can be the meaning of all theſe wanton outrages every where and in every ſhape, committed by unhallowed and deſperate men, on all, that all mankind have hitherto held ſacred? What concluſion can be drawn by rational and thinking creatures from crimes of regicide, murder, blaſphemy avowed in the public aſſemblies, and tribunals of a great people; and of the horrid wreck, in which the whole eccleſiaſtic ſyſtem, and all the prodigious maſs of wealth appropriated to places and purpoſes of ſanctity, by the piety of their anceſtors; but that morality in all its forms, like every veſtige of order and decency, is perfectly incompatible, with their manners, who prefer as more congenial to their views and wiſhes, a ſyſtem of pure, unqualified atheiſm?

# DISCOURSE TENTH.

## IMPOLICY OF IRRELIGION.

*Religion eſſential to ſociety — Abſurdity of materialiſm — Character formed on chriſtian principles—Virtues they inſpire—No great men or great nations where not prevalent—Their abſence ſupplied in ſtates and individuals by every vice —By what ſort of government ſecluded.*

RELIGION and government are the two maſter pillars of ſociety. Apart from the one, every fabric of public happineſs is viſionary, and anarchy always rages in the abſence of the other. On the union of both, as on a mighty chain, hangs the whole mechaniſm of every wiſe and well-regulated policy.

All men in their individual capacities have ſeparate rights, and an equal claim to the protection and enjoyment of them. Theſe they retain, as members of ſociety, to a certain degree; but as conſtituent members alſo of a community, which cannot

cannot ſubſiſt without ſubordination of inferior to ſuperior rank, they acquire a new character, which occupies a new ſituation, and is liable to new obligations.

Equality in any other ſenſe, accords with no political arrangement, and never occurs but among thoſe of ſimilar circumſtances, and in the ſame claſs. Parents and maſters derive, from their reſpective relations, prerogatives incompatible with the condition of children and ſervants. But, their juriſdiction is ſtill circumſcribed. They are reſponſible to others, entruſted with ſuperior powers, for the exerciſe of theirs. And, in this manner, the ſcale of ſocial order riſes from the loweſt peaſant to the higheſt potentate. But it is only inſpired and preſerved in permanent ſecuity, by the energy of religion. The great ends of regular government, private ſafety, public peace, individual enjoyment, and political liberty are never in any ſtate poſſeſſed or eſtabliſhed, but where this principle pervades and unites the whole arrangement.

Religion may be defined, the influence of inviſible power on viſible agency, or the direction which all human conduct receives from the ſober, ſtedfaſt, and practical conviction of a God, a providence, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.

This ſeems kindly vouchſafed to man, as a compenſation for the pains he feels, and the perils that environ him; not only as a fund of conſolation under all the diſaſters of mortality, but principally for the perfection and felicity of his nature, as well in his ſocial and relative, as in his individual capacity. And all the poſitions and forms he has aſſumed, however diverſified, changed or miſhapen by nature, caſualty, genius, habit, climate, policy, faſhion, locality, or caprice, have been more or leſs calculated, and in ſome inſtances, overruled to produce this effect.

It is founded in the primary diſtinction, eſtabliſhed by the conſtitution, and relation of things, between good and evil. To every perſon of thought, ſenſibility, or diſcernment, this is a firſt principle, not on any occa-

occaſion, or for any purpoſe to be ſtifled, evaded, or denied, as radical as eſſential, and as invariable as reaſon or common ſenſe.

He muſt be mad, and think others as mad as himſelf, who ſhould dare to aſſert, with any degree of ſerioufneſs, that light is darkneſs or darkneſs light. But how infinitely more deplorable muſt their frenzy be, to whom there is neither right nor wrong in the univerſe, and who confound the laws of the moral world, only that they may riot undiſturbed in the plunder and wreck of this?

Society in its rudeſt and moſt poliſhed texture, has uniformly owed all its energies, enjoyments and utilities, to ſuch a deep ſenſe of religion, as equally pervades, braces, and guides its own living and acting maſs; ſtimulates the fidelity of the weak, bounds the prerogatives of the ſtrong, blends the faculties, harmonizes the tempers, and unites the purſuits of all. It is the great maſter ſpring in our ſyſtem, the ſtandard by which all our actions are weighed, the only infallible equipoiſe in

the mechaniſm of all good government. The empire it aſſumes and maintains in the hearts, and paſſions, and conſciences of all its genuine votaries, is abſolute and deciſive. There, it is enthroned, and thence diffuſes, a gracious and captivating influence through all their faculties, and over all their actions. No rival impulſe divides with it, the ſovereignty and management of their affections. It regulates the preſent by the hopes and fears of the future; enforces the leaſt of our duties by our higheſt intereſts; arms the laws of man by the authority of God; excites obedience by encouragements ſurpaſſing all expectancy; deters from offence by denouncing puniſhments equally terrible and inevitable; regulates our demeanour to inferiors, ſuperiors, and equals, by the ultimate and final ſentence of an inviſible, unerring, and omnipotent Judge, and ſanctions all the inſtitutes and ſafeguards of ſociety, by whatever awes or allures in an everlaſting world!

Ye mighty adepts in the phlegmatic ſcience of materialiſm, what gratitude do we not

owe

owe to you for diſcovering for our advantage that the univerſe is without an author, man without a ſoul, life without a rule, nature without deſign, and ſociety without religion? Complete this magnanimous inſult over the comfort of our deluded race by arming the ſtrong againſt the weak, bereaving the lame of their crutches, and the blind of their guide, extracting every ſweet from the bittereſt cup of affliction we are doomed to drink, deſtroying every derniere reſource of the needy and deſtitute, and jumbling all the beſt and worſt of the ſpecies into one and the ſame black abject and deſperate caſt.

Ye tell us in a tone of triumphant ſarcaſm, that you ſee nothing around you but one hugh chaos of myſtery and ſuffering, know no power to animate and direct it, and ſcorn to accept of a happineſs founded in deluſion, and for which you cannot account. O fooliſh and ſlow of heart to believe. " He that planted the ear, ſhall he not " hear; he that formed the eye, ſhall he not " ſee; he that teacheth man knowledge, ſhall

"he not know?" You had better not credit your own beings than his, without whom no being can exiſt, and reject the teſtimony of all your ſenſes and the reality of all their objects, rather than indulge a doubt that he who was before all, produced all, and ſhall ſurvive all, is not in all, and all in him. But for this one ſalutary conviction the *ſlings and arrows of outrageous fortune* were inſupportable!

What praiſe do you confer on prieſts and politicians, by attributing to their invention or connivance a ſyſtem thus benign and uſeful? Human invention can deviſe nothing better entitled to the gratitude of all, than what muſt be found by all, their ſtay in trouble, and ſafety in danger.

Inſtead of blackening the ſuppoſed authors of it, as the peſts and ſcourges of ſociety, you actually enroll them among its beſt benefactors. For a ſpecific againſt any diſeaſe or infection, an antidote to protect our houſes from fire, or even ſuch faſtenings as may render our dwellings ſecure from nocturnal depredation, what premiums have not been given, what

praiſes

praiſes not beſtowed? But who can calculate the benefits which have accrued to mankind from religion, or aſcertain the meaſure of their guilt, who would rob the world of a treaſure ſo precious and ineſtimable?

He who acts from a deep ſenſe of this principle, or is habitually impreſſed by a ſerious apprehenſion of living under the ſtricteſt reſponſibility to God, for whatever he does in a ſupreme or ſubordinate capacity, cannot be the puppet of ſlaviſh fear, faſtidious caprice, or ſordid lucre. No, He is uniformly dutiful from the ſatisfaction he enjoys in complying with the dictates of eternal rectitude, the ſettled ordinations of Providence, and the ſtrong aſſurance which all things afford him; that his well meant exertions ſhall at laſt be faithfully and ſubſtantially rewarded! Even in the loweſt offices of life, where the requiſitions of patience are moſt ſevere, he is encouraged both to ſuffer and obey from the powerful conſideration, that it is the will of God, that it is inſeparable from the

place

place he occupies, that his ſupreme intereſt is conſulted in the iſſue, and that he cannot deſert his poſt, lay down his arms, or relax in his watch, but at the dreadful peril of forfeiting forever his honour and his all. Whatever his condition, talents, or avocations may be, religion demands the moſt punctual and ſacred diſcharge of every obligation he owes to God or man, in a temper of mind perfectly honeſt and diſintereſted, and from that amiable principle which animates the pureſt virtues, and faſhions the faireſt characters, even "ſin-"gleneſs of heart."

Where ſhall we look for the genuine exertions of true magnanimity and public ſpirit, but under the manly and divine auſpices of a rational and ſublime piety? By whom were men originally reclaimed from a wandering and deſtitute ſtate, like ſheep without a ſhepherd, and a prey to the rapacity of monſters and of one another? By whom have all wiſe and ſalutary governments been inſtituted, the moſt equitable laws enacted, property moſt effectually ſecured,

cured, juſtice moſt impartially diſpenſed, and peace with all its happieſt concomitants moſt anxiouſly cultivated? By whom hath all that unites, adorns and elevates the ſpecies, rids them of their greateſt miſeries, and raiſes them to the moſt enviable condition, been acquired with moſt labour or improved to the higheſt pitch, brought moſt home to the neceſſities of the loweſt and leaſt informed, purchaſed at moſt expence or ſtamped with moſt value? By whom are covenants leaſt violated, promiſes beſt kept, oaths deemed moſt ſacred, the innocent ſureſt of protection, injured merit of redreſs, the wronged of relief, and the ſuffering and timid of ſympathy and ſhelter? By whom is private eaſe and even life, fortune, and the deareſt friends moſt readily relinquiſhed, or even ſooneſt ſacrificed for the ſafety or welfare of the community?

Are any of thoſe great minds who have reformed the world or civilized mankind, or made their names illuſtrious by their patriotiſm, their talents, or their virtues, pro-

promoting the glory of their country, guarding the conſtitution under which they lived, or defending the laws of the land where they were born and bred, againſt domeſtic faction or foreign invaſion; noted for atheiſm or want of religion?

Is this the caſt of character by which thoſe are diſtinguiſhed, who in all ages have been moſt celebrated and admired for that noble enthuſiaſm which cultivates and extends all the beſt privileges of ſociety, and renders every thing ſubſervient to general advantage, and by whoſe tender, preſerving, and generous concern for public good, arts and ſciences have flouriſhed, property and commerce increaſed, induſtry and ſucceſs prevailed, and happineſs and virtue triumphed?

Was it by atheiſm that Greece and Rome acquired the capacity of ſubjugating the nations to reaſon, or enlightening the world by philoſophy, of giving laws to the univerſe, dictating the forms of all ſucceeding governments, or of fixing even the ſtandard of taſte?

Was

Was it this, that ſublimated the minds of a Socrates, a Plato, a Cato or a Cicero, impregnated their doctrines with divinity, made heroes, legiſlators, and patriots of their diſciples, extended their fame to every corner of the globe, and ſtamped it with glory and immortality?

Can ſuch a deſtitution of principle bind its adherents together by any indiſſoluble tie, or inſpire them with ſuch an affection for the whole, as excludes none of its parts, as embraces the intereſts of families, relations, friends, and fellow-citizens, as even provides for the exigencies of generations yet unborn?

Was it ever known, that any nation excelled another in arts or arms, the refinements of civility, the perfections of government, its laws, its privileges, its influence, its leaders, or the ſuperior felicity of its people; by alienating their minds from the conviction of a ſuperintending Providence or a world to come?

No.—Such ſweet ſtreams proceed not from ſo bitter a fountain; nor is ſo fine a crop

crop to be expected in ſo bad a ſoil. The principle is abundantly deteſtable, and loſes none of its horror, by its prolific tendency. To whom does human nature owe its foul-eſt degradation, the deepeſt and moſt con-ſummate obloquy and diſhonour? Who are the men who have entailed on their fellow creatures the groſſeſt infamy and the keeneſt anguiſh, and by whom the lovelieſt face ſociety ever wore, has been moſt cruelly mangled and deformed, inno-cence and ſimplicity ruined by fraud and perfidy; the deadlieſt rancour harboured under the faireſt profeſſion of the moſt ſacred friendſhip; fortunes raiſed by in-juſtice, perjury and pillage; and who have waxed great and wanton in extravagance even at the expence of the widow, the fatherleſs, and thoſe who have none to help them?

They even requite the kind indulgence and tender concern of parents from whom they inherit their all, with want and beg-gary, perhaps with contempt and ſcorn; furniſh tyranny with tools, and faction with incendiaries; violate the ſtricteſt engage-ments,

ments, outrage nature and conſcience; riot in murder, aſſaſſination, and parricide, and plunge their devoted country into all the horrors and diſtractions of war by treaſon and maſſacre.

Theſe are thy doings, O atheiſm, and the work is every way as ſhocking and frightful as the agent! thy firſt fruits, O tree of liberty, ſhed not to heal but to wound the nations, as bitter and as deadly as apples of Sodom or grapes of Gomorrah! fearful preſages of the felleſt deſpotiſm that ever deepened the gloom of human wretchedneſs, depreſſed the genius of ſociety, trampled on the rights, or inſulted the patience of men!

What is man without ſome ſort of religion or other but a poor impotent inſulated being, every where as wretched and grovelling as he is contemptible and depraved? Detached entirely from his Maker, the earth could not be more deſolate without a ſun, or a human body bereft of a mind! Like an orb juſtled from its ſphere, he would ſoon loſe the uſe of all his beſt qualities,

qualities, his affections would become groſs and voracious, his paſſions would rage with the fury of a tempeſt, his appetites would take the lead and reduce all his deſires and purſuits to mere animal gratification; and his underſtanding thus abuſed and debauched; would coil itſelf up in his boſom like a ſerpent never to ſtir but to ſting his feelings, or to poiſon his quiet.

Man who has no confidence in the Governor of the world as his beſt friend, has actually no hope and no help. He exiſts in a dungeon, and death preſents him only with deſpair! He frequently ſinks under the preſſure of accumulated guilt, but no proſpect of pardon breaks on his views, lifts the burden from his breaſt, or diſſipates the gloom that ſurrounds him. Dragged or driven by his ſenſes, he plunges into every indulgence that offers, and proſtitutes time, health and capacity, in purſuits which can make him at beſt, no return. In vain would reaſon lift him to heaven, while habits thus ſluggiſh and ſenſual faſten him to the earth! Aware

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that the thread of his life is as brittle as it is brief: not intereſted in any other, and but the inſect or reptile of the moment, he ſpurns at every tie, brooks no reſtraint, and graſps at every profit and pleaſure which he can ſeize with impunity or keep in defiance of juſtice.

Indeed, what can it matter on his ſyſtem what his actions or motives are, while he aims at no higher approbation, than that of a creature as ſhort-ſighted, as erroneous, and as partial and unprincipled as he is. The officious intruſions of conſcience he likewiſe ſtudiouſly repels, or ſuppreſſes, by the formal rejection of whatever might inſtigate its reſentment, or arm it with its ſting, and though it may thunder loud enough occaſionally to make his heart tremble in ſecret and ſhake every fibre in his frame, its fierceſt voice is generally drowned in atheiſtical dogmas, habits of blaſphemy, the diſtractions to which licentious paſſions expoſe him, or the criminal avocations which abſorb his attention.

He has as little morality as religion, for theſe are twin ſiſters and ſeldom exiſt

apart. He thinks himſelf no better than a beaſt, and the moſt beaſtly actions can render him no worſe. His lower faculties are regulated by their objects, which attract and exerciſe animal functions only; but having diſpenſed with all moral and religious good and evil, he has no further uſe for reflection, enquiry, judgment, or ſelection. Innocence can be no longer valuable to him than he dreads and ſhrinks from infamy and ſorrow as the conſequence of guilt. He may put on a ſemblance of honour, as an actor wears a maſque for anſwering ſome purpoſe or ſuiting ſome character; or as the ruffian who would ſtab, betray, or pilfer unknown, perpetrates the daſtardly action in diſguiſe, but his heart remains a ſtranger to every ſentiment of genuine probity. Why ſhould he cultivate or retain integrity while he can reap no credit from what is unknown or diſowned. He cannot be honeſt to any, who ſuſpects all, and is conſcious that all ſuſpect him. He will not readily do to others as he wiſhes to be done by, who allows not any praiſe or blame to human conduct.

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He feels not the ſacred obligations of truth in a ſcene, where it has little influence, and where its preference could be of no uſe. And purity merits not any of his regards, while he aſſociates with thoſe, in whoſe mind and manners, pollution is under no check. To his betters he cannot riſe, but endeavours to bring them down to his own level. The recollection of favour received fills him not with ſatisfaction but diſcontent. Every obligation he feels is a burden, and the debt of gratitude, which affords ſo much pleaſure to others, is to him the heavieſt and moſt painful. Inſtead of thankfully acknowledging, he ſtruggles only to leſſen its value and depreciate his goodneſs who conferred it. Whatever good offices you do him will be turned againſt you, and where you expected a friend you will find an enemy.

What ſhall we ſay of that government or ſociety which is formed or compoſed of individuals thus callous and corrupted? It is a building of ſand, deſtitute of adheſion or firmneſs, and which the firſt general

ſhock from without or within, muſt daſh to pieces, or level with the ground! All we know of the ſpecies, from hiſtory or experience, directs us, to reſt in this concluſion as one of the ſureſt axioms in political ſcience; that a regular poem, or any other literary compoſition may as ſoon be formed and executed in the beſt taſte, by jumbling together the letters of the alphabet; the moſt complex machine be as eaſily faſhioned and ſet a going without adjuſting, or fitting for their reſpective operations, its component parts; a palace be as readily conſtructed and reared with utility and elegance, of the rougheſt ſtone; or a ſhip built according to the ſtricteſt rules of naval architecture, by timber abſolutely unprepared; as an efficient, acceptable, or permanent government conſtituted or maintained, where the great body of the people are without religion or morality.

# DISCOURSE ELEVENTH.

## SOCIAL PIETY.

*Irreligion of the Gallic republic—Offices of piety in every other ſtate Their natural operation—The lower orders could not otherwiſe be ruled—Obtained univerſally among the ancients—Society declines as they are deſerted—Verified by the pagan world—Our clergy and church beſt pledges of national ſecurity.*

IF the looſe tenets of philoſophical demagogues and metaphyſical atheiſts produced the worſt effects * on a maſs of twenty millions of ſouls, even while under the tuition and diſcipline of a well-eſtabliſhed hierarchy, conſiſting of eighteen archbiſhoprics, and a prodigious phalanx of ſubordinate clergy, daily occupied in teaching and enforcing the doctrines of religion and morality, aided by the whole force of the ſtate in all its complicated energies for the preſervation of order, and the execution of the laws, what muſt be the caſe

* See Diſcourſe Eighth.

now, that there are no creeds, no public inſtructors, no churches; that the ſacerdotal ſyſtem, and all its formidable auxiliaries, are radically abrogated; that religion in all its preſcriptive arrangements is abſolutely ſuppreſſed, its temples abandoned, its altars violated, and its functionaries denounced; that this nation and all its immenſe hordes have burſt all the faſtenings of civilized life, and broke looſe on the world and one another with the rancour of felons from their cells and their chains, or rather with the grim ferocity of wolves or tigers, panting for blood; and that moſt of the impious fabricators of equality and confuſion, who originally ſounded the warhoop to the revolution, and all its blackeſt exceſſes, are openly idolized by the whole infatuated maſs, and conſulted as oracles?

This is an innovation which affects eſſentially the whole fabric of ſociety, but never was dreamt of in the philoſophy or political eſtabliſhment of any other people. In all countries or kingdoms of the known world, inſtitutions for inſtructing

ting the ignorant in their duty, have obtained. Nor did all theſe means ſuperſede the want of further reformation. What, though one nation, under pretext of atheiſm in our times, may have formed and eſtabliſhed a policy on the wreck of religion, in all its articles, preſcriptions, rites, and agencies, and even ſanctioned it, by a dreadful unanimity in renouncing their Maker, gutting their churches, and ſhutting them up, alienating the whole eccleſiaſtical revenue and patronage, careſſing the worſt, and pillaging, baniſhing, or maſſacreing the beſt of their clergy? A confederacy of ſuch an extent, againſt heaven, and all the beſt and deareſt concerns of mankind, never certainly happened before, or ſince the rebellious builders of the Tower of Babel. Both caſes originated in ſimilar principles, and we doubt not, will end, in ſimilar ſucceſs.

All preceding ſtateſmen and legiſlators, in founding kingdoms, and framing laws for the government of ſociety, have otherwiſe been fools. They conceived public

piety the beſt means of ſtrengthening all moral obligation; that it gives additional energy to our ſocial attachments and averſions; that all our paſſions, which, for the moſt part operate more ſtrongly in ſociety than ſolitude, are never ſo manageable and regular as under its guidance; that it ſanctions by the happy accordance of popular opinion, our innate ſenſe of the fundamental diſtinctions between right and wrong; that in proportion as we are honeſt, every ſentiment of malevolence dies within us, in all our mutual addreſſes to Him, who ſees our hearts; that a juſt and moderate value for all thoſe little, trifling, and interfering intereſts and competitions, which often fret and inflame us with jealouſy and bitterneſs againſt each other, muſt be the conſequence of meeting together, under a ſacred and ſerious impreſſion of the divine preſence; that the belief of the infinite diſtance between the great object of worſhip and the moſt exalted order of creatures, is calculated to fill the hearts of the higheſt with humility, and

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to unite them in the bonds of kindneſs and charity with the loweſt; that habitual returns of ſtated times, in which, multitudes ſolemnly aſſemble to hear their duty explained and inculcated, and join in the mutual adoration of one God and Father of all, are admirably contrived to diffuſe a ſpirit of piety, humanity, and the deſire of uſeful knowledge among all ranks and degrees of men; that all who would be acceptable worſhippers, are under more voluntary, endearing, and forcible ties to baniſh from their breaſt and lives, envy, hatred, revenge, and all the black tribe of baneful paſſions, than others who make no ſuch profeſſion; that the whole body of chriſtian doctrine teaches the abſurdity and blaſphemy of approaching the God of mercy and forgiveneſs, or imploring his favour, while a ſingle grudge lurks in our boſoms againſt any fellow creature; that the conſideration of an affinity or union with the beſt of men as being of their number, as ſharing their honour and privileges, and as joining with them in the pureſt and

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nobleſt exerciſes of the heart, is not only ſatisfactory, but ſupremely conſolatory; that no better pledge of mutual confidence and unanimity can be given by individuals, either to one another, or to the community at large, than ſuch an expreſſion of their cordial acknowledgments for all the bleſſings they enjoy; and that eſtabliſhed forms of devotion are the likelieſt means of diffuſing all over the world ſuch qualifications as conſtitute the very ſtamina of public weal.

A ſtate may indeed ſubſiſt in ſome degree of order, perhaps make ſome vigourous and proſperous efforts both in commerce and war, even after corruption begins its havock among the upper ranks of life; but the moment the complicated body of citizens in town and country, traders, labourers, and peaſantry are infected, and irreligion is the point or ſtandard of treaſon, round which the lower orders rally; deſtruction is inevitable and immediate! The pile thus undermined, however ancient or magnificent, voluminous or compact, muſt fall.

fall. And it is odds but every thing great and valuable is involved in its ruins.

A palpable affectation, and many ſilly attempts among the leaders of our regicide neighbours, to imitate the ſentiments and manners of ancient republicans, expoſe them to conſiderable ridicule. And were it not for their ſanguinary conſpiracies againſt the quietude of ſociety, who could help laughing at ſome of their farcical eccentricities? But in nothing certainly do they leſs reſemble their maſters in Greece and Rome, than in a fantaſtic contempt for the religion of their anceſtors. Have they forgot to what pious frauds and falſe ſyſtems the philoſophers and ſtateſmen of thoſe heroic ages had recourſe, for ſupplying their ignorance of the true? Over the formation of all ſocieties in the world, ſome peculiar genii have always been ſuppoſed to preſide. Did not all the political inſtitutions which have come to our knowledge, originate in pretended revelations from heaven, or intercourſe with ſupernatural agents? No laws were ever deemed

deemed ſufficiently binding or ſacred, or acceptable, but in proportion as they had a tincture of religion in them. To the care and protection of the moſt favourite and popular divinity of the nation or city where it took place, every independent eſtabliſhment was therefore conſigned. This idea of its nature and origin, was alſo moſt ſedulouſly kept alive by a moſt pompous ritual. All over the pagan world, very coſtly ceremonies were performed, temples erected, games celebrated, and ſolemnities of various kinds inſtituted, in honour of the Gods, under whoſe auſpices their rights were placed, and to whom they applied for redreſs in all their calamities and wrongs.

Does it never occur to our modern reformers that the declenſion of all the empires in the univerſe, may be attributed in part at leaſt to irreligion, and even dated from the moment that the necks of the multitude were looſened from this ſalutary yoke? No ſtate has any where proſpered after the extinction of piety in

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the people. By this mighty engine, the whole apparatus of government is conſolidated; ſubjects feel the neceſſity of obedience, and magiſtrates the reſponſibility of power: petulance is repreſſed and ambition bounded; the higheſt ſituations are not wantonly occupied, and all the ſubordinate ſtations of life, filled and ſuſtained from a ſenſe of duty.

The ancient Perſians, the Greeks, and the Romans were illuſtrious and irreſiſtable, while the religious principle maintained its aſcendancy in their houſes and aſſemblies, their citizens and rulers, their councils and armies. This was their genius which inſpired them with a taſte for excellence, and gave union and diſcipline to all their enterpriſes. And it was no ſooner loſt, than the glory of the moſt renowned among all the heroic nations of the ancient world, literally departed. It was their ſun, and when it ſet, they ſunk in the darkneſs of oblivion!

Theſe are only plain arguments, but plain minds have felt and acknowledged their influence ſince the beginning of time. Elaborate refinement never was, and never will be a principle of popular agency. It is not by the dull phlegmatic ſuggeſtions of mere metaphyſical reaſoners, whoſe opinions both of human and divine things, are often as raſh and premature, as they are immodeſt and indecent, that ever the world in general will be ſwayed. Their temerity and rhodomontade may raiſe ſuſpicion and diſguſt in a few minds, hacknied like their own, in the hardihood of impiety, and artfully incorporated with temporal intereſt of extenſive magnitude, even procure the general countenance of ſuch a nation as France, in the momentary paroxyſm of paſſions interdicted by religion; but when this ferment ſubſides, and individuals no longer carried down the ſtream of popular fury and faſhionable contagion, begin to reflect and feel an acceſſion of felicity from perſonal eaſe or domeſtic

meſtic comfort, the pious aptitude, in one ſhape or another will inevitably return, and recover all its wonted ſovereignty.

Thus, on every principle of ſound policy, without involving any higher conſideration, we confidently conclude the abſolute incompatibility of irreligion, with all the beſt forms of regular ſociety, as it leaves every ſpecies of government without a reſponſibility, law without ſanction, conſcience without check, innocence without protection, and life without guardian or guide.

It is likewiſe but fair to infer, that our own church and ſtate have no greater enemies than atheiſts; that the ſpirit of our happy conſtitution is actually deſtroyed by the inſidious efforts of a ſecret cabal, who, like the baſeſt vermin are never ſo miſchievous as in the dark or under ground; and that all our boaſted privileges, and whatever we moſt value, are in danger from nothing ſo much as a total want of ſeriouſneſs, and a growing diſreſpect among all orders

orders in the community, to the ſacred inſtitutions of public piety.

It is a matter of very ſerious conſequence that a contempt of the regular clergy is now become ſo general, while ſo many important intereſts depend on their popularity. Much might be ſaid in their favour from the exigencies of our common nature and condition, from the miſery and inconvenience of vice, which it is their buſineſs to oppoſe and ſuppreſs, from all the aſpects of life, and all the illuſions of hope. Aukward and futile muſt all arguments againſt them be, which come from ſuch as are not prepared to produce unexceptionable evidence, that they are utterly uſeleſs to the welfare of individuals and nations, that the minds and manners of men are in no degree bettered by their inſtruction, that the paſſions moſt to be dreaded in the intercourſe and colliſions of ſociety are laid under no additional reſtraint by their continual admonitions, and that the ſtated miniſtration of ſacred and moral obligation, has no influence in promoting the

the docility of children, the fidelity of ſervants, the loyalty of ſubjects, or the mutual good offices which in our reſpective ſtations and capacities we all owe to each other. Who can tell how much perſonal eaſe and private indulgence, the virtues of one or of many, the decency of national taſte and humour, the ſtability of public tranquillity, the efficiency of law and equity of juſtice, the peace of families, the validity of engagements, the confidence of friends, all the reciprocal duties of civil intercourſe, and all thoſe relative obligations which conſtitute the happineſs and ſafety of the community, depend on the clerical function? And all who arraign the whole, for the delinquency of a few, or depreciate the profeſſion indiſcriminately, or in a maſs without this calculation, accurately before them; act but the part of other madmen, who are noted, for always giving their beſt friends, the worſt uſage.

Whatever, they may ſuffer or feel, from the contumely of a world lying in wickedneſs, they are in fact, the guardian an-

gels of all we poſſeſs, all we enjoy, and all we expect. It is by the native influence of their inſtructions, that the ſtate is ſerved with fidelity and diſpoſed to requite her ſervants; that her agents do their duty, have their reward, are ſupported and enjoy her patronage; that her magiſtrates are impartial and her ſubjects loyal; that her inſtitutes are efficient and cheerfully obſerved; that the miniſtry of juſtice is ſo pure and its victims ſo few; that the rich are liberal and the poor grateful; that unanimity ſtill pervades her orders and renders her invulnerable; and that, amidſt all the diſaſters and diſcouraging circumſtances of an unſucceſsful war, immenſe expenditure, exceſſive burdens and enormous debt; ſhe ſtill exhibits to ſurrounding nations, the truly majeſtic ſpectacle, of a great and virtuous people, taking the lead and exerting tranſcendent magnanimity, in aſſerting the beſt intereſts of the ſpecies!

It has been the uniform opinion of the wiſeſt legiſlators, and the moſt conſummate ſtateſmen,

ſtateſmen, in all ages, that our minds as well as our bodies, ſhould be ſuitably cheriſhed, improved, and preſerved; that the former, as the main ſpring of human activity, claim our firſt attention; and that all our corporeal powers deſerve comparatively but little regard, where thoſe of mental, moral and tranſcendent energy are neglected.

All inventions and purſuits, which occupy the buſy and laborious, however indiſpenſable to the wants, accommodations, and ornaments of life, are as inferior to communications of knowledge, as the effect to the cauſe; or the machine to the mechanic who made it. And there is nearly the ſame proportion between ſuch as are employed in civil and ſacred duties, as between thoſe who obey, and thoſe who command, matter inanimate and animated, or mere bodily exerciſe which profiteth nothing, and the fruits of the ſpirit, which are life and peace!

Objects of mortal, or at beſt, ſocial requiſition, exhauſt all the care and labour of others, but teachers of morality and re-

ligion are in ſome meaſure accountable for what paſſions and diſpoſitions govern the world, and the actual ſtate of preparation its inhabitants are in, to exchange it for another. The concerns of the preſent, and ſuch proviſions for thoſe who may follow, as were made for us, by thoſe who went before, make up the ſum total of our ordinary debt to ſociety, and he is a faithful citizen who leaves no part of it unpaid. But the means which render the diſcharge of this obligation practicable, the principle by which the force of it is felt, and the impulſe which brings it into action, originate in ſources wholly intellectual. The clerical inſtitution is calculated to realize all theſe latent powers of our nature, that life may enjoy the utmoſt advantage their beſt operations can beſtow: And they do not argue fair, who would aboliſh the profeſſion without furniſhing ſomething in its ſtead, of at leaſt equal utility.

It is therefore, incumbent on all who regard the prieſthood as inſignificant, or paid for what does not profit the public,

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to prove, that the human intellect needs no tuition; that no real benefit can reſult from any ſpecies of information; that wiſdom and virtue are empty names; that memory, imagination, and judgment are ſuperfluous faculties in the human ſyſtem, and of no efficiency in the affairs of the world; that it is loſt labour and loſt time to draw forth what is not wanted; that the ignorant and worthleſs are as eaſily governas the wiſe and good; and that there is no preference in taſte, no ſafety in council, no charm in novelty, and no difference whatever exiſting, between beauty and ugline ſs, knowledge and ignorance, mind and matter.

It will alſo be time enough, for idle and libertine minds, to hector about tithes and the revenue of eccleſiaſtics, when this caſe is fairly made out to univerſal ſatisfaction. But the great body of the people muſt firſt renounce all preference for the belief and example of their forefathers, and have recourſe, not to the aggregate maſs of our nonconformiſts, who have no better ſecurity for their immunities, than our eſtab-

liſhment has for hers; but to the Gallic ſceptics and atheiſts for ſuch imperious dogmas and ſophiſms as abſolve from all prejudices of education, ſenſe of order, reſtraint of decency, perſonal reſpect, moral obligation, religious perſuaſion, and qualms of conſcience; as ſanction, not univerſal toleration only, but abſolute licentiouſneſs, and proſcribe the worſhip not of matter and fate, but of Him who faſhioned the whole maſs of the one, and has the entire diſpoſal of all events, impiouſly aſcribed to the other.

That the miniſters of religion are not ſuperior to the infirmities of humanity, but men of like paſſions with thoſe around them, that they do not always practiſe the humility they preach, or preach the truth with ſufficient ſimplicity; diſcover more temper, minds better diſciplined, higher purſuits, affections leſs attached to earth, or in ſweeter accord with heaven, ſtronger patience, purer faith, or brighter hope than men of inferior education and leſs rigid pretenſions; that as in other orders

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ſome of them may even diſhonour the profeſſion by immorality, or an inordinate indulgence of pleaſure, pride, avarice and various paſſions equally prepoſterous and irreputable; and that many among them are as intereſted, as tenacious of their claims, as ſecular in their views, as worldly, ſordid, and griping, as thoſe of the laity moſt notorious for theſe irregularities; are facts in clerical hiſtory for which, alas! we need the officious teſtimony, of no inſidious calumniator.

Total exemption from the frailties, or even the vices of our common nature is no part of the plea, on which the friends of the order, would reſt its defence. Unfortunately theſe are urged againſt it with the greater plauſibility, that its chief and primary end, is to correct or prevent them. And probably for this reaſon perfection in no other profeſſion, ſeems ſo eagerly wiſhed, or generally expected. But why are the induſtrious huckſters of its petty depravities, who borrow all the little eloquence and wit they poſſeſs, from fictions of their own invention, for which they are eager to

make it reſponſible, ſo ſtrangely unacquainted with its ſpirit or its merit, the ſuperlative aims it has in view, or even the political ſervice it is capable of yielding to ſociety? While they rake up, the aſhes of the dead to darken the luſtre of the living, and accumulate the obloquy under which they would bury the whole, depreciate their labour, exaggerate their income, and point them out as victims of popular envy and reſentment, ſeemingly, and for very obvious but very unjuſtifiable reaſons, they purpoſely forget that the conſecration of the prieſthood, for the ſacred ſervice of the ſanctuary, originates in no human authority, and owes its perpetuity and ſupport to no human aid; that all its temporalities are as much its right, as the proviſions of the ſtate are hers; that thoſe of the one as well as the other, are aſcertained and eſtabliſhed by every legal document which enters into the ſecurity of all hereditary property, or can render it permanent; that the claims on which it repoſes, for all its immunities are more deeply faſtened, and have a ſtronger

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hold of the public mind, than what can be urged or ſubſtantiated, in behalf of any ſecular inheritance on earth, from their higher or more remote antiquity, and from their general recognition as eſſential one way or other, to every form of authenticity requiſite in private or public tranſaction; that it depends on no grants, interferes with none, and by none, can be commuted or alienated; that no power whatever is competent to alter, impair, or by lawful means defeat its regular appropriation; that its various acceſſions are the natural reſult of progreſſive civilization, and the improvements implicated in a poliſhed ſtate of ſociety; that theſe however conſiderable in particular inſtances, are no equivalent to the clergy in general for the additional expenditure that accompanies them; that all its reſources ariſing from fees, affixed to ſpecific duties continue to this day, as rated at the Reformation, while the price of labour in every other line of life, uniformly bears ſome proportion to that of proviſions and the value of money; that though often curtailed by rapacity, it is incapable of making repriſals

repriſals by any ſpecies of encroachment, and that all the dignity and ſplendor aſſumed by thoſe who conduct its buſineſs and intereſts, have no dependence on the public, but is ſupported by its own excluſive funds, and bears in no ſenſe, on any part of the community.

The whole of our eccleſiaſtic arrangement, duly conſidered in all its parts, dependencies, ſubordinations, powers, and virtues, is an inſtitution of ſuch manifeſt and incomparable excellence, that its value is literally above all price, and not to be eſtimated by any human ſtandard. All the wealth of the univerſe could not ſupply its place, or purchaſe a ſubſtitute ſo competent to our confidence. It is the great palladium of our civil and religious rights, and to us, what the ark of the teſtimony was to the Iſraelites. It holds whatever we regard as ſacred and precious, all our intereſts and all our hopes. It is our guide, our light, our protection, our oracle, and our ornament. The place on which it ſtands is holy, and whoever putteth forth his hand, but to touch it, with

hoſtile

hoſtile intention, dies. Long may it remain among us, as the auſpicious ſymbol of his bleſſing, which never alights and abides but on the nations of them that are ſaved.

Our church may be ſtiled, the true *Alma-Mater* of all good citizens; ſhe not only furniſhes each, with a complete chart of the duties ſeverally aſſigned them, but enables them, every where, to acquit themſelves as workmen, who need not be aſhamed of their work. Such is the double capacity in which ſhe ſerves the community, by providing it with members qualified for acting the part aſſigned them with propriety, and in ſome meaſure, pledging herſelf for their conduct.

Vainly, therefore, do they boaſt of their affection for the Britiſh conſtitution, and ill are they formed for promoting her intereſts, who befriend not the church. Their attachment to the one, can never be ſo ſatisfactorily evinced, as by an open and decided preference of the other. They cannot more effectually and foully betray the rights of both, than by habitually neglecting

lecting the requiſitions of either. And their honour muſt be hollow, their virtue equivocal, and their loyalty, at beſt, ſuſpicious, who have no viſible religion, aſſociate not openly with her adherents, or are ſeldom or never ſeen in her ſervice.

Surely they who have been reared, nurtured and matured under the auſpices, and in the boſom of our church, need not now be appriſed of the numberleſs and ineſtimable advantages ſhe confers. She is the genuine organ of the higheſt truth, of the beſt intelligence, and of all that practical knowledge which is eſſential to the proper diſcharge of whatever we owe, both as men, and as citizens. By adopting the creed of our anceſtors, worſhipping the God of our fathers, and conforming to the religion of our country, we beſt conſult her intereſt, and our own comfort. By her direction we are taught to go forth by the footſteps of the flock. Under her guidance we are leaſt likely to be miſled. In her fold we are kept from rapacious and ravening wolves. In the path ſhe preſcribes we ſhall walk and not be weary, run and not faint.

Like

Like every good mother, ſhe would have all the houſehold of faith, which is her family, happy, by individually and aſſiduouſly promoting the happineſs of one another. And the end ſhe purſues abundantly ſanctifies whatever ſhe appropriates for ſecuring it. All her ſecularities ariſe from her capacity and ſolicitude to realize this important purpoſe. That her members may have leiſure and competent compoſure of ſpirit, for practiſing the reſpective virtues of their ſtation, ſo eſſential to general welfare, and their own preparation for the fruition of futurity, ſhe forms a compact with the ſtate; and from that moment, its magiſtrates, laws, agencies and policies are all ſubſervient to her cauſe, and carry on her work. By this coaleſcence the great concerns of eternity are aided by thoſe of time, and all the moſt powerful motives and tendencies of a good life deepen the ſenſe of every ſocial and civil duty, naturally incorporate with the ampleſt and minuteſt of our ſecular details, brace the texture of our whole political fabric as by ſo many additional grapples or cramps,

and

and knit together in one ſtrong, compact, indiſſoluble, predominant union, its moſt diſtant and diſcordant parts. She borrows the countenance and protection of government, and repays it, by arming conſcience in its favour, promoting habits of conformity and obedience, lending all her weight to accelerate its meaſures, accommodating her regulations to its convenience, and extending to it, on all occaſions, the ſame care or ſupport common from principals to allies or auxiliaries. She even renders the interior of the country, by laying it out in petty diſtricts for the convenience of paſtoral care and dioceſan juriſdiction, every where acceſſible, and opens a medium of direct communication between thoſe in power, and every popular movement in the deepeſt receſſes of domeſtic ſecluſion. This is of high advantage to the former, whoſe authority hangs on the opinion of the latter, and whoſe buſineſs is to watch with peculiar jealouſy and caution, every flux and reflux to which it is liable.

Here is an argument for our church, even on their reaſoning, who range among her

her moſt inveterate and ſtrenuous oppoſers. With them, it is a fundamental maxim that all governments, governors and every political inſtitution are for the uſe and accommodation of the governed. In proportion therefore as we find ourſelves ſafe, at our eaſe, and comfortable in a dutiful acquieſcence with exiſting authority, we ought to regard the ſhare, which our church has, in producing this ſalutary effect, with ſuitable gratitude and acknowledgement. It is with her, as with the gracious Providence of Heaven, whoſe ſun ſhines and rain falls on the juſt and unjuſt, her worſt enemies, deriving from her bounty alone, all that ſtrength, by which they lift up the heel againſt her.

From her we learn both by precept and example, the practice beſt becoming chriſtians and members of ſociety, what we ſhould do, and what we may hope. She ſets before us the goſpel of Chriſt, in all its native ſimplicity and majeſty, accommodates us with the requiſites of every moral excellence, preſcribes the virtues of immor-

immortality, aſcertains the conditions of eternal life, and places within our reach, whatever tends to conſummate our ultimate felicity and perfection.

Theſe are the primary and glorious objects of our whole eccleſiaſtical inſtitution, and the means ſhe adopts for accompliſhing them are wiſe and appoſite. Perhaps the leaſt beneficial of all her good offices is her agency, in realizing the moſt ample proviſion for the poor. She prepares for their conſolation an inexhauſtible ſource of ſympathy in the hearts of their fellow-creatures, by rouſing their ſenſibilities, who have both capacity and inclination to relieve them. By her graphical diſpoſitions of the kingdom, our moſt retired habitations are diſcriminated with ſuch preciſion, that the exigencies of individuals and families are readily aſcertained and accommodated. Channels of regular and occaſional diſtribution, are accordingly, every where opened by her miniſtry, and under her cognizance. Her entire organization is calculated to promote our higheſt intereſt, and all her regu-

regulations habits of frequent aſſociation and mutual acquaintance. She expands and harmonizes the minds of men, makes duty obvious and eaſy, and in all her genuine diſciples raiſes and cheriſhes a ſpirit of liberality and kind affection. Even that unſettled and verſatile diſpoſition by which, giddy unprincipled minds ſeem averſe to the ſtaidneſs and gravity of devotion, and ramble from church to church as if they diſliked the ſervice and miniſters of their own, and took no delight but in cultivating looſe and idle propenſities of roving or ſtrolling any where; is obviouſly interdicted, and in ſome degree provided againſt, by the parochial diviſions which ſpecify and fix her local arrangement.

Only let us conceive the order, which muſt reſult, from a general compliance with this regulation. How infinite the advantage it evidently gives her over every religious ſect in competition with her. Were every one, to aſſociate in public worſhip with none, but their own pariſh,

a ſuppoſition palpably implicated in the very exterior of our church, what ſcenes of confuſion, what deſultory conduct, what promiſcuous meetings; what reſtive paſſions, what waſte of time, what breach of the ſabbath, what clandeſtine practices, what profligate levities; might not be avoided?

Children, apprentices and ſervants would then be under the eye of their parents, guardians, and maſters, and all as they ſhould be, not only fellow worſhippers, but keepers, protectors and patterns of all. Superiors thus regular and ſtedfaſt in doing public and ſolemn obeiſance to almighty God, would be generally and devoutly imitated by inferiors. Such habits, of unanimity and intimacy in exerciſes, thus ſerious, ſolemn and affecting, were one ſtep at leaſt, to uniſon and cordiality, in our civil capacity, and might contribute, to direct us all, in the purſuit of one common intereſt as good citizens, true patriots and faithful ſubjects.

All the doctrines, all the uſages, all the liturgies of our church eſtabliſh the ſame

turn

turn of mind, by forming all her real diſciples not only to a well grounded faith and a lively hope, but alſo to the gracious and happy temper of living peaceably with all men. And no temper but what ſhe imparts, habitually tried and purified by the diſcipline of thought and experience, is competent to perſonal happineſs, or relative duty.

Analyſe the various ſyſtems of nonconformiſts which now prevail among us, and which are ſeverally oppoſed to the church of England. Are they not all more or leſs bottomed in a ſentiment of diſſatisfaction*, with that particular in our conſtitution from which they diſſent? And who can tell to what lengths they may go, how untractable they may become, or what ill they may do, who act, from an impulſe of ſettled diſcontent? Their paſſions cannot be always orderly, their purſuits liberal, their intentions manly and open, their aims candid and harmleſs, their lives uniformly peaceable, or their politics ſafe; whoſe education originates in a principle, big with miſ-



* See pages 104, 105.

chief, incapable of a good and ſuſceptible of a bad direction.

The firſt reflection this circumſtance duly recollected, naturally ſuggeſts is, that they only are right, and all who differ from them muſt be wrong. And their faculties no ſooner begin to act under a bias thus ſelfiſh and preſumptuous, than they regard with invincible obſtinacy every argument which candour, or ingenuity might allege in behalf of a more impartial and liberal judgment, and inevitably expoſe themſelves to irreſiſtible ſeduction, from the ſorcery of all thoſe ſophiſtries, temptations and chimeras which debauch the credulous and prompt the treaſonable. The diſſatisfaction or diſobedience of others may originate in occaſional irritation or refinement, but theirs is habit and ſyſtem, the deliberate and voluntary determination of minds made up to its conſequence, and the genius of the party or faction among whom they are born and bred. They imbibe it at ſo early an age, and it gathers ſtrength and maturity by ſuch gradual acceſſions, that it becomes, what is vulgarly called a ſecond nature,

nature, and as in many other caſes, often enough acquires the moſt perfect aſcendancy over the firſt. Whoever doubts, or would diſpute, the fact but little conſiders how tenacious the predilections of the human mind uſually are in its young and ductile ſtate, how deeply they take root, how far they ſpread, how vigorous they grow, and with what inexpreſſible difficulty they ever after, are eradicated, abridged, or even reſiſted.

Not that all who receive the rudiments of diſobedience, in this captious ſchool become proficients in the political delinquency, it may be ſuppoſed to produce. We reprobate the length only, which the principle is calculated to go, when followed up to its full extent. That many reſpectable individuals and bodies of men who enter on their relative duties under more or leſs of its influence, and yet acquit themſelves as uſeful and good citizens, is well known: and a circumſtance ſo much to their credit, we wiſh not either to conceal or deny; as their public utility, has the greater merit for the obſtacles it encounters and ſur-

mounts. No ſacrifice is more painful or more magnanimous, than that of ſtrong prejudice, to common duty. And this hard condition of loyalty and ſubmiſſion to the laws of the land, is the habitual practice of every faithful ſubject not educated or tutored within the pale of our church. But judging, as we uſually do of antipathies and averſions, once ſeriouſly entertained and corroborated by the various circumſtances of tuition, affinity, and aſſociation, the genuine friends of our conſtitution can no more be expected from ſuch a ſeminary, than the ableſt phyſicians from quacks, the pureſt prieſts from atheiſts, and the braveſt ſoldiers from cowards.

The broad baſis on which our whole eccleſiaſtical ſuperſtructure repoſes, is her manifeſt and direct tendency, to propagate all the noble and diſintereſted virtues of public ſpirit, and to ſuppreſs whatever ſtunts their growth, or circumſcribes their influence. Like the body, ſhe is animated and guided by a principle, as much one and indiviſible as the human ſoul. This

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is that ſpirit of love and unanimity, which ſhe diffuſes around her, wherever her preſence is acceptably received, and her aſcendancy thankfully acknowledged, which ſweetens and refines all the harmonies of life; which exalts the friendſhip of families, improves the intimacies of aſſociation, and has no other bounds than the cordial community of all mankind. She harbours none of that black ſuſpicion which reſults from duplicity or intrigue, and gives no countenance to the deceitful management of artifice and falſhood, but, like the ſun, is full of light, and enlightens wherever ſhe ſhines.

All the meanneſs of little inſignificant ſordid paſſions, which may ſtill debaſe ſome of her apparent friends, tarniſh her pureſt devotions, or adhere to multitudes of her profeſſed votaries, opprobrious as they are to them, diſparage not her, but our common nature; diſcredit not her ordinances, but abuſe them; invalidate none of her energies, but ſhow how effectually they may be occaſionally reſiſted, by the

obſtinate and incorrigible. Traitors there ever have been, and ever will be in all ſocieties, and the former could not be criminal or branded with infamy, as they always are, but for the excellence and utility of the latter.

In all the diverſity of civil affairs, and the multiplied reciprocities of ſociety, her influence in promoting the ſtable and popular virtues of ſincerity and uprightneſs, ſo eſſential to mutual truſt between man and man; is every where manifeſt and ſatisfactory. But, for the good diſpoſitions ſhe cultivates and inſpires, and the ſtrong habits of probity, to which ſhe has long accuſtomed, and tempered the public mind; government were without energy, commerce without credit, traffic without confidence, buſineſs without activity, money without attraction, induſtry without a ſtimulus, and life without an object. We are formed into one body by her genius, and her genius breathes into that one body, the breath of life, unites all its members, conſolidates all its intereſts, and animates all its purſuits.

You

You could not either buy or ſell, but for the ſentiments ſhe awakens in our hearts, the veracity ſhe ſtamps on our conſciences, and the confidence ſhe enables us to repoſe, in the honeſty of each other. From her agencies and operations, all bonds derive validity, coin its currency, and commodities of every ſort, their worth, their requiſition, and their uſe. No deeds of property, transferred, conveyed, hereditary, or funded, were ſolid or binding, without her cognizance and authority. All the ſtaple laws, of our individual and diſtinctive rights, are in her hands, confirmed by her verdict, and preſerved by the order ſhe keeps, and the ſovereignty ſhe maintains. Every preſcriptive privilege or immunity, conferred on merit, or appropriated to ſervices of any kind, has all its produce and perpetuity from her ſanctions.

Theſe are her cautionary hoſtages or guarantees, infinitely more ſafe and permanent than any, which human policy can deviſe or afford, for every tenure by which

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eſtates are held, every charter which fixes, certifies or realizes the claims of individuals, or aggregate bodies of men, every poſſible form and ſecurity, by which private or public grants, covenants, or contracts are authenticated, attach to perſon or property, and for ſubſtantiating which, the whole power of the ſtate is reſponſible.

Her clergy who never were more reſpectable than at this moment, for every ſpecies and degree of profeſſional merit, and whoſe moral diſtinctions are certainly not equalled by any other body of men, thus extenſive and diverſified, not only inculcate all the beſt tendencies of the conſtitution, its ſoundeſt principles and higheſt virtues, by their ſtated inſtructions, but by familiarly mixing with their fellow chriſtians and citizens, conſiderably aid the maintenance of civil order and public decorum. Perhaps no ſimilar ſociety of the ſame extent in the univerſe, are bleſſed with functionaries ſo generally unexceptionable and illuſtrious, for every liberal quality both

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of head and heart. Their works in literature, philoſophy, morality, and religion, are numerous and valuable. What civil department is equally ſupplied with a conſtant ſucceſſion of individuals diſtinguiſhed by ſuch ſuperior abilities, ſuch dignified characters, and ſuch elevated deportment? From their talents and exertions every branch of uſeful knowledge and amiable virtue receives its beſt improvement. What diſtant corner or city on the iſland is not adorned with eternal monuments of their piety and munificence? In what place of the habitable globe, are they not conſidered as ornaments of their country, and which of our peculiar diſtinctions as Engliſhmen and chriſtians have they not always been foremoſt to aſſert, and defend? To what other claſs of citizens is the community at large ſo much indebted for all her civil and religious enjoyments? And let me aſk where an equal number of men are to be found in this country of equal property and equal capacity, who can vie with them in moderation of mind, purity

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of manners, decency of life, and all the beſt diſpoſitions of the heart? Thus from taſte, habit and all the noble purſuits of enlightened intelligence and exalted character, they are in fact of ſimilar benefit and efficiency in morals as veterans among raw recruits in military, or experienced ſeamen, incorporated with landſmen, in nautical ſervice.

Nor does it augur well to our proſperity as a nation eminently diſtinguiſhed from thoſe on the continent by many privileges of high importance, that the beſt bleſſing a bountiful God in the exceeding riches of his grace can beſtow on mankind, is not more gratefully received, and that men, appointed to deliver a "ſaying worthy of "all acceptation," are themſelves ſo very unacceptable.

Look at the diſaſtrous ſtate of France with a ſincere deſire of profiting, more or leſs, by the dreadful leſſon it ſuggeſts! There! a torrent of profane levity and groſs libertiniſm, a general dereliction of public

public devotion in all its accuſtomed ritual, and a ſhocking exceſs in every ſpecies of criminal gaiety, which had long deluded that beautiful country, formed a natural prologue to the terrible tragedy which has ſince been acted! Every thing in the room, the form, or the name of prieſthood, has long been the butt of their buffoonery and wit. Among them, nothing was too ſacred for a jeſt, a ſarcaſm, a libel, a lampoon. The better ſort, were in the habit, of avowedly making merry, on all occaſions, with, whatever is moſt ſerious in hope and fear. This proved, to all beneath them, what they thought of religion and its agents; and the ſlaves retained no longer any reverence for what they knew to be the laughing ſtock of their maſters. The awful delirium ſoon became epidemical; and by annihilating a world to come, every thing valuable in this, was ſuddenly pillaged and devoured.

They fell upon the church firſt, as the church ſtood moſt in their way. She was their greateſt eye-ſore, her funds afforded the

the readieſt booty, and her champions whoſe weapons are not carnal, the eaſieſt victims. All her faſtenings in the public predilection had been previouſly and ſtudiouſly undone, and it precipitated her doom, that ſhe was generally and properly conſidered, as the bulwark of the conſtitution.

This obſtacle to the grand conſpiracy once removed, the whole political citadel was inſtantly ſtormed, and one ſtrong-hold after another, ſucceſſively gave way. Property, privilege, liberty, and life, thus abandoned of protection, became the prey of rapacity, anarchy, tyranny, and ferocity. And to ſuch an extent, did this atrocious rage, predominate, that in a ſhort time, not one man in the whole empire, could call a ſingle livre he poſſeſſed his own!

Alas! what could remain of any avail to avert the vengeance of Heaven from that devoted people, after the baniſhment, the maſſacre, and the extinction of their prieſthood? They not only loaded the whole order with the moſt odious imputations, and expoſed them as victims of the vulgar

mania

mania which then raged, but drove them in hordes, like ſheep to the ſlaughter, crammed them into dungeons, and totally conſigned them to the butchery and ſabres of aſſaſſins!

Aſk from one end of Heaven to the other, did any nation or people ever proſper for any length of time, who held the prieſthood in contempt? Even among the moſt ancient and enlightened pagans, the altars and prieſts, as well as Gods, were every where inviolable. They regarded and puniſhed ſacrilege as one of the greateſt crimes. One of the moſt illuſtrious philoſophers that ever did honour to human genius and ſcience, loſt his life for arraigning the ſuperſtition of his country: And no ſociety ever roſe to any ſplendor or eminence, or flouriſhed in ſtability and honour, without cheriſhing among all ranks, ſentiments of ſincere veneration for religion and religious characters.

Human nature is not to be bound by any chain leſs forcible; and all who hold it, however otherwiſe inſignificant, are in poſ-

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ſeſſion of the maſter-ſpring by which the whole machinery of life is managed. The wood and wire which move the puppets, are in their hands, and the drama in which they are not conſulted muſt be tragical. Who knows, what ills at this moment, reſult from the preſent degraded ſtate of the clergy, or whether the reſtive humour of the populace, their ſullen diſcontent, and growing averſion, to all the honeſt reſtraints of conſtituted authority, may not ariſe from the faſhion of forſaking the aſſembling of ourſelves together; and deſerting the ſocial duties of religion, defeating the objects of her offices, and the zeal of her miniſters, by leſſening them in the public eſteem, wantonly reviling their profeſſion, withholding the reſpect due to them for their works ſake, proportioning the deference paid to them, not by their ability or worth, but their wealth or celebrity, or treating them in the general intercourſe of life coolly, petulantly, diſtantly, or in any degree unhandſomely?

Moſt

Moſt of their inſignificance originates in this apathy. They are deemed uſeleſs, and ill uſage prevents their utility. It is becauſe the beſt among them are not ſuitably diſtinguiſhed, that the worſt have any patronage. Were the order in its wonted repute, no individual delinquency could diſgrace it. But now the inſtitution, like a falling edifice, where every piece of rotten timber, every peg out of place, and every looſe ſtone, accelerate the general ruin, is ſenſibly ſhook by whatever is faulty among the loweſt and leaſt of its members.

It is for you, whom it chiefly concerns, who have moſt to loſe and leaſt to expect from any change which can happen in the policy or piety of the country; to conſider, that the fabric of the church cannot diſſolve but with the diſſolution of the ſtate; that the one cannot be ſafe while the other is in danger, and whether any thing we have or enjoy is capable of ſurviving her overthrow, in whoſe alliance the ſtrength

of the whole is conſolidated? And all who have any value for ſociety, or even for their own perſonal and relative concerns, for domeſtic quiet and comfort, and for the ſafety and welfare of their beſt friends, are abſolutely out of their ſenſes not to cheriſh and cultivate the higheſt regard for the public religion of the country, its rites, and its miniſters. Even the linchpin, is as eſſential as the axletree, the wheels, or the cattle, to the regular motion of the carriage and the ſecurity of the paſſengers!

Would to God theſe ſuggeſtions were actually extraneous to the temper and complexion of our times! But the church in danger when no danger was near, has been ſo often and wantonly hallooed by fools and hypocrites, that it is not likely to be credited even now when ſhe is. And have we not of late been appoſitely compared in a great and ſolemn aſſembly * to men *aſleep on the mouth of a volcano.* Let it

* Iriſh Parliament.

how-

however be well remembered, that the exterminating judgments of God are often preceded by a ſuperlative degree of infatuation and ſtupidity both in men and nations! The levities and immoralities of life never roſe to a greater height, than when the deluge burſted on a thoughtleſs and impenitent world. The cataſtrophe of Sodom and Gomorrah, followed hard on the heels of that exceſs in guilt, which to this day brands the place with indelible infamy. All hiſtory abounds with emergencies, happening thus unexpectedly, amidſt circumſtances of the profoundeſt ſecurity. The procraſtination of Pharoah, under a ſeries of unparalleled diſaſters brought upon his kingdom by invincible obſtinacy, perfectly developes the procedure of Providence, which ſeldom or never ſtrikes without previouſly blinding its victims! The illuſtrious family, for ever abjured from the throne of theſe realms, by our glorious revolution, hardly conceived ſuch an event poſſible, before it fell upon them, like a clap of thunder! The ſtrong deluſion of

the late French court, on the very eve of the terrible exploſion, which involved monarchy, royalty, and the hierarchy, in one common fate, is thus claſſically deſcribed by one of themſelves. "*We ſlept* "*in the garden of Armida, but our awaking* "*was more dreadful than our dream had* "*been delicious!*"

Ah! be not, my countrymen, lulled into a fatal ſecurity by flatterers or ſycophants, who may have an intereſt in deceiving you, or think the ſtrong arm of government will alone be able always to protect you; or that, you are permanently ſafe in a great houſe, crouded with faithful domeſtics. It is a maxim which antiquity renders venerable and true, wiſdom never yet deſpiſed, "except the Lord keep the city, "the watchmen wake in vain."

An evil ſpirit of diſſatisfaction hath certainly gone forth, growls, and gathers ſtrength among all the inferior orders of the community. And where is the guillotine or inſtrument ſufficiently capacious or competent to decapitate ſuch a hydra?

Even

Even the jacobin club, mighty as it ſoon grew, had by no means ſo formidable a beginning, ſo powerful an example to fire its emulation, ſo plain a model for regulating its exertions, or ſo eaſy a conqueſt in proſpect, as its deſperate imitators and coadjutors, preſumptuouſly promiſe themſelves among us.

All ſubordinate parties are now ſwallowed up, by this enormous faction, which is not the leſs dreadful, that it has not yet been able to put on any conſolidated or corporate ſhape, or in that capacity adopt efficient agency. But ſuch is its genius and tendency, that it aſſumes every colour, accommodates every temper, coincides with every purſuit, and embraces all the eccentric modes, ſectaries, viſionaries, atheiſts, fanatics, philoſophers, enthuſiaſts, rationaliſts, puritans, libertines, bigots, rakes, devotees, and every other name or deſignation into which affectation, whim, folly, diſeaſe, or vice divide the populace. Whig and Tory, high and low church, are now ſtale and obſolete. France, with all

her deformities, engroſſes the public mind, and particularly agitates and debauches, almoſt every individual who has nothing but life and wretchedneſs to hazard!

It were madneſs, to expect thoſe immenſe plebeian ſwarms who occupy all the inferior and baſeſt walks of drudgery and dependance, in a populous, opulent, and civilized country, poſſeſſed of either capacity or moderation enough, to weigh diſpaſſionately the nature and conſequences of a revolution, the efforts it requires to ſuſpend or put aſide the agencies of regular government; the patience and fortitude neceſſary to face and ſurmount ſuch an hoſt of difficulties and checks, as ariſe from a ſucceſſion of unforeſeen emergencies; the penetration to prefer, the ſagacity to frame, or the perſeverance to perſiſt in ſuch meaſures, as bid faireſt to ſucceed; and the courage to encounter all the incidental and inevitable dangers of ſo perilous an enterprize. They little conſider that the original contrivers of public commotion, ſo ſeldom ſee their intentions fulfilled; that the

the moſt inſidious traitors in France fell among the earlieſt victims to their own villainy; and that the conſequences of the firſt ſeditious thought, or word, or motion ſurpaſs all human foreſight or calculation.

The thoughtleſs and fickle multitude, are deſtined to be perpetually duped and abuſed by their own paſſions, or the paſſions of others who gain an aſcendancy over them, poſſeſs no accurate diſcernment of the cauſes, characters, or iſſues of action, admire and doat upon vanity, magnificence, or even vice, under certain modifications; but have no genuine taſte for real worth of any ſort; and the glitter of rank, or wealth, or greatneſs, or all extraordinary diſtinction, whether real or imaginary, eaſily divert and withdraw their affection from ſuch ends and purſuits, as in the ſober eſtimation of a well-informed judgement, are infinitely more worthy and important.

A vacant and giddy intellect, connected with boiſterous, precipitant and groſs paſſions, leaves them altogether defenceleſs, and

a ready prey to knavery and deſign. Their ſeducers take them unawares, and they are no match againſt the artifices employed to abuſe their confidence. They know their condition cannot be changed for the worſe, and are taught, by innumerable fictions and proteſtations, how eaſily and ſpeedily it may be made better. The church like the primitive chriſtians, is ſet forth in the ſhape of a monſter, that ſhe may be hated, hunted down, and pillaged. Your fortunes and eſtates likewiſe in proportion as ample and well conditioned, are, alas! taken into the account and devoted to the hammer, that they may ſwell the ſum total, and augment the value of the common booty.

The effect of preſenting this enormous heap, ſo alluring and attractive, to men already prepared and deſperate, or at leaſt heſitating between duty and guilt, is eaſily conceived. The hope of plunder, much more than any ſenſe of grievance, agitates, excites, and inflames their lawleſs deſires; and they ruſh with unbridled ferocity on the prey, in hopes, that though the ſtruggle may

may be ſevere, the iſſue muſt be glorious; and that whoever ſhould fall, many muſt ſurvive and be enriched. Rude minds are always prone, and eager to gratify the low paſſions of envy and malignity. And they are conſequently glad of any pretence for indulging their reſentments, and exulting in the mortification of ſuperiors.

What then can ſave you while the very ground ſhakes and cleaves under your feet, and the clamours and menaces, and ſhouts of exaſperated millions, whom you may now treat with ſcorn, like balls of fire iſſuing from the foundations of the temple in Jeruſalem, rendering the place inacceſſible to the ſcorched and terrified workmen, ſent by Julian * the apoſtate, to rebuild that ſacred edifice in oppoſition to the interdiction of Heaven; alarm and intimidate the ſtouteſt among you, and you actually find your moſt deſtructive enemies thoſe of your own houſe?

How then would you avert this tremendous evil? Every expedient but unfeigned

* Warburton.

ſanctity

ſanctity and the exerciſe of univerſal humanity, was adopted by the old French government. They impriſoned, they tried, they executed, many of the boldeſt offenders as a terror to the reſt. They cruſhed every appearance of popular uproar for ſome time, with exemplary ſeverity. But theſe meaſures were ſoon relinquiſhed for others more likely, in their opinion, to re-eſtabliſh the influence of magiſtracy. Under the gentle ſway of their late unfortunate monarch, a milder conduct was obſerved. Alas! the mob grew fierce as the law relaxed*; and wreſting the ſword from his paralytic hand, by an indiſcriminate ſlaughter of their betters, annihilated all diſtinctions, and reduced the whole to one mournful and abject level.

Among them the general diſreſpect into which religion was ſunk, accelerated the deſolation of ſociety. It was not till they condemned the authority of God, that they preſumed to trample on that of men. Treaſon to their king and country might

* See Swift's Conteſts, &c.

well

well be apprehended from traitors to their Maker! For no policy can be more deficient in common ſenſe, than that which affects to deſpiſe the influence of ſocial piety on the minds of men. They can be objects of no rational confidence either in a public or private capacity, who are ungrateful to their beſt benefactor, undutiful to their kindeſt parent, and diſloyal to their higheſt ſovereign. But is not this literally the caſe of all whatever their rank, their condition, or their profeſſion may be, who leave religion out of their hearts, and can live without hope or apprehenſion from the mercy or juſtice of their Maker, and the ultimate judge of their conduct, in habitual neglect of his worſhip and his ſanctuary, and all the honeſt old faſhioned duties of keeping his church and ſaying their prayers. Characters unaccuſtomed to theſe devout exerciſes, whoſe plan of action excludes all ſenſe of the divine preſence, and all reſponſibility in an another world for the uſe they make of this,

this, are incapable to a certain degree of any uſeful energy in either ſubſtantiating the juſt expectations of individuals, or eſtabliſhing the beſt intereſts of ſociety.

Ye who have not the fear of God before your eyes, who poſſeſs the titles and inheritance, but not the piety of your anceſtors, whoſe conduct is without exemplary virtue, to awe or reform ſuch as are accuſtomed to imitate and admire you in all your actions, know, aſſuredly, you bring upon you and yours ſudden deſtruction; that the chain which binds and reſtrains the hereditary enemies of your race, is broken by your own hands, and that you may ſpeedily fall a prey to ſhoals of voracious monſters, whoſe awful den had never been opened but for you!

THE END.

# NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Theſe laſt are chiefly taken from *Lord Aukland, the preſent Biſhop of London, Lord Bacon, Mr. Burke, Mr. Summeran, and the Biſhop of Landaff.*

IT is a circumſtance both honourable and ſatisfactory, to find the ſentiments of various writers, eminently diſtinguiſhed for abilities, and principles perfectly accordant with many ſtatements and obſervations in the preceding Diſcourſes. Not willing to embarraſs the text with quotations, a few paſſages from ſome of theſe are here reſpectfully appended, under the ſeveral heads to which they refer.

## CAUSES OF PREVAILING IMMORALITY.

The following extracts from a very maſterly pamphlet, entitled *ſome Remarks on the apparent circumſtances of the War in the Fourth Week of October* 1795, and generally aſcribed to Lord Aukland, happily illuſtrate ſeveral allegations in this diſcourſe.

" § 11. France will long ſerve as a beacon " to other nations. The cruelties which fol-

" lowed

" lowed the ſeizure of eccleſiaſtical property,
" the avowal of infidelity and atheiſm, which
" ſeemed to ſerve as a pretext for robbing
" the churches, the profligacy of manners,
" encouraged by the new code of divorces,
" the requiſitions againſt the farmers and
" ſhopkeepers, the law of the maximum, the
" forced loans, the compulſory enrollments,
" the domiciliary viſits, the judicial maſſa-
" cres from prepared liſts, were all admoni-
" tions to other countries to look with re-
" vived attachment to their own govern-
" ments, in the worſt of which ſome pro-
" tection was given to life, property, and
" the exerciſe of religion. To Engliſhmen
" the compariſon preſented new grounds of
" fair national pride; it led them to contem-
" plate and to cheriſh the whole ſyſtem of
" their own civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſh-
" ment.

" To all mankind one awful leſſon will
" remain in the hiſtory of the leaders of the
" French inſurrections, which, in the lan-
" guage of one of its principal leaders, is,
" a recital of crimes puniſhed: One ſet of
" miſcreants rapidly ſucceeded another by
" a ſort of hereditary ſucceſſion, and every
" new adminiſtration murdered its prede-
" ceſſors.

" ceſſors. Thus it was that men, inveterate " enemies of each other, were frequently " brought together to the ſame ſcaffold, and " at the ſame moment with the innocent " victims of their cruelty. Many have eſcaped " public execution by the reſource of ſui- " cide; and others (whoſe moral puniſhment " is perhaps the moſt ſevere) ſtill ſurvive.

§ 16. " The French inſurrection, conſi- " dered diſtinct and ſeparate from its crimes, " exhibits a mixture of impiety, levities, " and pedantry. A pantheon for the remains " of Voltaire, Rouſſeau, Mirabeau, and Ma- " rat! All religion ſuperſeded by the god- " deſs Reaſon, and this new divinity exhi- " bited to the aſſembly of the nation in the " perſon of a proſtitute upon a pedeſtal! " The chaunting of civic hymns by the le- " giſlators in chorus with fiſhwomen! The " fraternity decreed to the public execu- " tioner! The affected uſe of the word ci- " tizen, and the adoption of the claſſical " forms of addreſs! The red caps, the civic " feaſts, the objects aſſigned to the feſtivals, " and to the five complementary days of the " calendar! All theſe " fantaſtic tricks be- " fore high Heaven" eſcape our indigna- " tion amidſt the ridicule which they excite.

" We

" We might forgive a nation for ſuffering
" itſelf to be perſuaded that liberty conſiſts
" in ſingularities; but the ſingularities are
" ſo blended with atrocities, that it becomes
" painful on reflection to have ſmiled at them.
" Theſe extravagancies, however, have had
" their uſe; they have helped to eradicate
" from the minds of ſurrounding nations the
" admiration, which they were diſpoſed to
" feel for the French inſurrection."

The great object of the *Scepticiſm*, mentioned as one cauſe of *prevailing immorality* is thus pointed out, with much ſimplicity and preciſion, by the preſent Biſhop of London, in a moſt appropriate charge to the Clergy of his Dioceſe in 1794.

" Among the great variety of moſt extra-
" ordinary and unexampled events which
" have taken place ſince we laſt met here,
" there is none more ſingular and aſtoniſh-
" ing than the ſucceſs which has attended
" a new ſect and deſcription of men, who
" have of late made their appearance in Eu-
" rope, and aſſumed the ſtyle and title of
" PHI-

" PHILOSOPHERS. Theſe men, after having " waged open war with the Goſpel for near " half a century; after having all that time " deluged Europe with their writings againſt " it; after having aſſailed it with all the " powers of wit, genius, eloquence, ridi- " cule, calumny, and invective, and by theſe " means conſiderably encreaſed the number " of their proſelytes, and the boldneſs of " their pretenſions, have at length, from " ſmall beginnings, riſen into conſequence; " have eſtabliſhed a regular ſyſtem and ſchool " of infidelity on the Continent; have avowed " their grand object to be the extirpation " of Chriſtianity from the earth, and the " ſubſtitution of philoſophy in its room; and, " to the aſtoniſhment of all the world, have " actually found means in one part of Eu- " rope to carry this moſt ſingular project " (to a certain degree) into execution.

" If you aſk what the meaning is, of that " thing called Philoſophy, which has thus " in one country nearly ſupplanted Chriſ- " tianity, and hopes to do it in others, I " muſt refer you to the writings of all the " great leaders of this new ſect, of Helve- " tius, of Voltaire, of D'Alembert, of D'Ar- " gens, of Raynal; but above all, to that

" recent, moſt curious, and moſt authentic
" publication, the Poſthumous Works of a
" late illuſtrious monarch on the continent,
" Frederick the Second. You will there
" ſee a faithful delineation of the real tenets
" and opinions of the moſt celebrated phi-
" loſophers of Europe, of the founders and
" legiſlators of the great empire of infidelity,
" with the philoſophic monarch himſelf at
" their head; you will ſee every ſecret of
" their hearts laid open in their familiar
" and confidential correſpondence with each
" other; you will ſee that the grand object
" they had in view was, what I have already
" ſtated, the entire extinction of the Chriſ-
" tian Religion; you will ſee that they were
" pretended deiſts but real atheiſts; that al-
" though the *name* of a Supreme Being was
" ſometimes mentioned, yet it was ſeldom
" mentioned but with ridicule and contempt;
" and that they never conceived him to be
" any thing more than the intelligent prin-
" ciple that animates all nature, the ſource
" of life and motion, the ſenſorium of the
" univerſe; but in other reſpects totally un-
" connected with this earth and its inhabi-
" tants, having no kind of direction or ſu-
" perintendence over them, and " as little

" diſturbed

" diſturbed (theſe are their own words) at " what may happen to them as with what " may happen to an ant-hill which the foot " of the traveller may cruſh, unperceived by " himſelf."

" In conſequence of this doctrine theſe " philoſophers of courſe rejected all idea of " a providence and a moral governor of the " world. They aſcribed every event to fate " or fortune, to neceſſity or chance; they " denied the exiſtence of a ſoul diſtinct from " the body; they conceived man to be no- " thing more than an organized lump of " matter, a mere machine, an ingenious " piece of clock-work, which, when the " wheels refuſe to act, ſtands ſtill and loſes " all power of motion for ever. They ac- " knowledged nothing beyond the grave, no " reſurrection, no future exiſtence, no future " retribution: they conſidered death as an " eternal ſleep, as the total extinction of our " being; and they ſtigmatized all opinions " different from theſe with the names of " ſuperſtition, bigotry, prieſtcraft, fanati- " ciſm, and impoſture."

## DEMOCRACY.

In the concluſion of this diſcourſe, occaſional notice is taken of ſome theories of reform in popular repreſentation, which has been ſo long a ſtalking horſe to the mock patriotiſm of theſe times. And in ſtating an argument againſt this very dangerous doctrine, it is as grateful to find a ſimilarity of thinking in ſuch a mind as Mr. Burke's, as for a dwarf in croſſing a difficult paſs in his way to lean on the arm of a giant. In page 13 of his recent letter to a noble lord; theſe are his words.

" Many of the changes, by a great miſ-
" nomer called parliamentary reforms, went,
" not in the intention of all the profeſſors
" and ſupporters of them, undoubtedly, but
" went in their certain, and, in my opinion,
" not very remote effect, home to the utter
" deſtruction of the conſtitution of this king-
" dom. Had they taken place, not France,
" but England would have had the honour
" of leading up the death dance of demo-
" cratick revolution."

In

In the ſame ſpirit and nearly to the ſame effect he afterwards adds what may be called no incorrect definition of patriotiſm.

" I have ever abhorred, ſince the firſt dawn " of my underſtanding to this its obſcure " twilight, all the operations of opinion, " fancy, inclination, and will, in the affairs " of Government, where only a ſovereign " reaſon, paramount to all forms of legiſla- " tion and adminiſtration, ſhould dictate. " Government is made for the very purpoſe " of oppoſing that reaſon to will and to ca- " price, in the reformers or in the reformed, " in the governors or in the governed, in " Kings, in Senates, or in People."

THE NEW PHILOSOPHY.

The pernicious influence which this falſe contracted ſcience inevitably ſheds on the minds and manners of men, is well depicted in *A Diſſertation on the univerſe in general, and the proceſſion of the elements in particular; by Richard Saumarez, Surgeon to the Magdalen Hoſpital.* The Author's drift is to revive the Socratic mode

of exploring and reſolving the phenomena of nature, which the preſent rage for experiment renders in ſome degree obſolete. He ſhews at conſiderable length and with much care in an excellent preface the irreparable loſs to ſociety, to ſcience, and to morals, by the ſubſtitution; and in many parts of the work how ill exchanged the purſuit of intellectual knowledge is for what is purely material. And he ſolemnly attributes, in bold and manly diction, the ſubverſion of the French monarchy to that ſpirit of irreligion and temerity, thus generally and ſcientifically diffuſed. It gives me pleaſure to add *Mr. Saumarez* as one more, of high profeſſional abilities, who is alſo a reſpectable exception to the following remark of a writer equally known for oddity and genius. " *The propenſity which ſome* [phy-
" ſicians he ſays] *have ſhewn to ſcepticiſm*
" *on religious topics is indeed to be ſeriouſly*
" *lamented, and it may be ſatisfactorily ex-*
" *plained upon metaphyſical principles, which*
" *evince the ſtrength rather than the weak-*
" *neſs*

" *neſs of the human mind, when contem-*
" *plating under certain circumſtances, the*
" *multiplicity and energy of phyſical cauſes*.*"

An opinion ſo ſingular, and oraculouſly announced, merits attention. It is guarded however by a laudable degree of liberality, and the inſtances ſpecified are of competent publicity, to authenticate the teſtimony vouchſafed in their favour. But an allegation which faſtens ſo black a ſtigma on a whole profeſſion equally conſpicuous, for utility and celebrity, ought to be indiſputable. Even then the apology ſuggeſted might require explanation. Perhaps the equivoke is couched under the phraſes " metaphyſical principles" and " certain " circumſtances." Theſe ſeem at leaſt elliptical, and adopted ſolely to qualify the ſenſe. The whole diſcovers, a powerful propenſity to defend the ſuppoſed religious dereliction of theſe phyſical ſceptics, in its utmoſt extent. But the ſucceſs, ably as it is urged, does not equal the deſign. What can

* See Remarks on the ſtatement of Dr. Charles Combe.

thoſe "metaphyſical principles" and "cer-
"tain circumſtances," left thus undefined be, which can render a cauſe obſcure or doubtful in proportion as its effects are apparent or obvious? Lord Bacon conceives the reſult of "contemplating phyſical "cauſes" to be very different, and it will probably be found that the great current of ancient philoſophy is on his ſide. His words which are well known, and often quoted are theſe, "It is true, that a little "philoſophy inclineth man's mind to athe-
"iſm, but depth in philoſophy bringeth "mens minds about to religion; for while "the mind of man looketh upon ſecond "cauſes ſcattered, it may ſometimes reſt "in them and go no further; but when "it beholdeth the chain of them confe-
"derate and linked together, it muſt "needs fly to Providence and Deity.

Such is the extreme abſurdity of this mongrel ſyſtem, and ſo terrible are the commotions it has produced and is ſtill likely to produce in its progreſs, that every ſenſible

ſenſible and enlightened mind actually regards it with a ſtrong mixture of repugnance and concern. No ſubject more expoſes the weakneſs of the human mind, or more excites that luxury of ridicule under which its gigantic eccentricities appear in the following paſſage in Mr. Burke's letter to a noble Lord formerly quoted.

" Nothing can be conceived more hard
" than the heart of a thorough-bred meta-
" phyſician. It comes nearer to the cold
" malignity of a wicked ſpirit than to the
" frailty and paſſion of a man. It is like
" that of the principle of evil himſelf, in-
" corporeal, pure, unmixed, dephlegmated,
" defecated evil. It is no eaſy operation to
" eradicate humanity from the human breaſt.
" What Shakeſpeare calls " the compunc-
" tious viſitings of nature," will ſometimes
" knock at their hearts, and proteſt againſt
" their murderous ſpeculations. But they
" have a means of compounding with their
" nature. Their humanity is not diſſolved.
" They only give it a long prorogation.
" They are ready to declare, that they do
" not think two thouſand years too long a
" period

" period for the good that they purſue. It " is remarkable, that they never ſee any " way to their projected good but by the " road of ſome evil. Their imagination is " not fatigued, with the contemplation of " human ſuffering through the wild waſte " of centuries added to centuries, of miſery " and deſolation. Their humanity is at their " horizon—and, like the horizon, it always " flies before them. The geometricians, and " the chymiſts bring, the one from the dry " bones of their diagrams, and the other " from the ſoot of their furnaces, diſpoſi- " tions that make them worſe than indifferent " about thoſe feelings and habitudes, which " are the ſupports of the moral world. Am- " bition is come upon them ſuddenly; they " are intoxicated with it, and it has ren- " dered them fearleſs of the danger, which " may from thence ariſe to others or to " themſelves. Theſe philoſophers, conſider " men in their experiments, no more than " they do mice in an air pump, or in a re- " cipient of mephitick gas. Whatever his " Grace may think of himſelf, they look " upon him, and every thing that belongs " to him, with no more regard than they " do upon the whiſkers of that little long

" tailed

" tailed animal, that has been long the game
" of the grave, demure, inſidious, ſpring-
" nailed, velvet-pawed, green-eyed philo-
" ſophers, whether going upon two legs, or
" upon four.

" Abbe Sieyes has whole neſts of pigeon-
" holes full of conſtitutions ready made,
" ticketed, ſorted, and numbered; ſuited to
" every ſeaſon and every fancy; ſome with
" the top of the pattern at the bottom, and
" ſome with the bottom at the top; ſome
" plain, ſome flowered; ſome diſtinguiſhed
" for their ſimplicity; others for their com-
" plexity; ſome of blood colour; ſome of
" boue de Paris; ſome with directories, others
" without a direction; ſome with councils
" of elders, and councils of youngſters; ſome
" without any council at all. Some where
" the electors chooſe the repreſentatives;
" others, where the repreſentatives chooſe
" the electors. Some in long coats, and
" ſome in ſhort cloaks; ſome with panta-
" loons; ſome without breeches. Some with
" five ſhilling qualifications; ſome totally
" unqualified. So that no conſtitution fan-
" cier may go unſuited from his ſhop, pro-
" vided he loves a pattern of pillage, op-
" preſſion, arbitrary impriſonment, confiſ-
" cation,

" cation, exile, revolutionary judgment, and " legaliſed premeditated murder, in any " ſhapes into which they can be put."

Lord Bacon has written ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt this extravagant mode of philoſophizing, that it were unpardonable not to avail myſelf of his authority. And ſo comprehenſive and profound is he in every thing he ſays, on every ſubject which falls in his way, that he may always be read with pleaſure and improvement after every other writer. This quotation is given in the verſion of Gilbert Wats, which conveys the ſenſe of the author with much ſtrength and perſpicuity.

" Some have embarqu't themſelves in the " ſea of experiments, and become almoſt " Mechanicall, but in the experience it ſelfe, " they have practiſed a roveing manner of " inquiry, which they doe not in a regular " courſe conſtantly purſue. Nay many pro- " pound to themſelves, certain petty Taſks, " taking themſelves to have accompliſht a " great performance, if they can but extract " ſome

" ſome one Invention by a manage as poore
" as impertinent, for none rightly and ſuc-
" ceſſefully ſearch the nature of any thing
" to the life in the thing itſelfe; but after
" a painfull and diligent variation of expe-
" riments, not breaking off there, proceeds
" on, finding ſtill emergent matter of far-
" ther diſcovery. And it is an error of ſpe-
" ciall note, that the induſtry beſtowed in
" experiments, hath preſently, upon the firſt
" acceſſe into the Buſineſſe, by a too forward
" and unſeaſonable deſire, ſeiſed upon ſome
" deſign'd operation; I mean ſought after,
" Fructifera non Lucifera Experiments of
" uſe and not Experiments of Light and
" diſcovery: not imitating the divine method
" which created the firſt day light only, and
" allowed it one entire day producing no
" materiale work the ſame day but deſcend-
" ded to their creation the days following.

" As for the conceit of thoſe who are of
" opinion that too much knowledge ſhould
" encline the mind to Atheiſme, and that
" the ignorance of the ſecond cauſes, ſhould
" be, as it were, a Midwife to our piety
" towards the firſt. I would willingly charge
" theſe in the language of Job, Will you
" lye for God as one man doth for another

" to

" to gratify him? For certain it is that God
" works nothing in nature according to or-
" dinary courſe but by ſecond cauſes, and
" if they would have it otherwiſe believed,
" it is meere impoſture, under colour of
" piety to God, and nothing elſe but to of-
" fer unto the Author of Truth the unclean
" Sacrifice of a Lye. But further, it is an
" aſſured truth and a concluſion of experi-
" ence, that a litle or ſuperficial taſt of Phi-
" loſophy, may perchance incline the Mind
" of man to Atheiſme; but a full draught
" thereof brings the mind back againe to
" Religion. For in the entrance of Philo-
" ſophy, when the ſecond cauſes, which are
" next unto the ſenſes, doe offer themſelves
" to the mind of man, and the mind itſelfe
" cleaves unto them and dwells there, an
" oblivion of the higheſt cauſe may creep
" in, but when a man paſſeth on farther and
" beholds the dependency, continuation and
" confederacy of cauſes, and the works of
" providence, than according to the alle-
" gory of the Poets, he will eaſily believe
" that the higheſt linke of Natures chaine
" muſt needs be tyed to the Foot of Jupiters
" chaire. To cloſe in a word, let no man
" upon a weak conceit of ſobriety or ill ap-

" plied

" plied moderation, thinke or maintaine that
" a man can ſearch too farre, or be too well
" ſtudied in the Book of Gods word, or in
" the Booke of Gods workes; Divinity or
" Philoſophy; but rather let men awake
" themſelves and cheerefully endeavour, and
" purſue an endleſſe progreſſe or proficiency
" in both: only let them beware leſt they
" apply Knowledge to ſwelling, not to cha-
" rity; to oſtentation not to uſe.

## SOCIAL PIETY.

The ſtupid cavils alluded to in the ſequel of this diſcourſe about tithes, are ably rebutted by the preſent Biſhop of Landaff in commenting on the phraſe " thou ſhalt not muzzle the ox when he " treadeth out the corn." The ſubject as uſual involves both religion and politics, and the paſſage which concludes the ſecond letter of his lordſhip's *Apology for the Bible* is therefore given entire.

" —— it was St. Paul and not the prieſts,
" he obſerves, who firſt applied this phraſe
" to

" to tything. St. Paul indeed did not avail
" himſelf of the right he contended for; he
" was not therefore intereſted in what he
" ſaid. The reaſon, on which he grounds
" the right, is not merely this quotation,
" which you ridicule; nor the appointment
" of the law of Moſes, which you think fa-
" bulous; nor the injunction of Jeſus, which
" you deſpiſe; no, it is a reaſon founded in
" the nature of things, and which no phi-
" loſopher, no unbeliever, no man of com-
" mon ſenſe can deny to be a ſolid reaſon;
" it amounts to this—that the labourer is
" worthy of his hire. Nothing is ſo much
" a man's own as his labour and ingenuity;
" and it is entirely conſonant to the law of
" nature, that by the innocent uſe of theſe
" he ſhould provide for his ſubſiſtence. Huſ-
" bandmen, artiſts, ſoldiers, phyſicians, law-
" yers, all let out their labour and talents
" for a ſtipulated reward, why may not a
" prieſt do the ſame? Some accounts of
" you have been publiſhed in England; but,
" conceiving them to have proceeded from
" a deſign to injure your character, I never
" read them. I know nothing of your pa-
" rentage,

" rentage, your education, or condition in " life. You may have been elevated, by " your birth, above the neceſſity of acquiring " the means of ſuſtaining life by the labour " either of hand or head; if this be the caſe, " you ought not to deſpiſe thoſe who have " come into the world in leſs favourable " circumſtances. If your origin has been " leſs fortunate you muſt have ſupported " yourſelf, either by manual labour, or the " exerciſe of your genius. Why ſhould you " think that conduct diſreputable in prieſts, " which you probably conſider as laudable " in yourſelf? I know not whether you " have not as great a diſlike of kings as of " prieſts, but that you may be induced to " think more favourably of men of my pro- " feſſion, I will juſt mention to you that the " payment of tythes is no new inſtitution, " but that they were paid in the moſt ancient " times, not to prieſts only, but to kings. " I could give you an hundred inſtances of " this; two may be ſufficient. Abraham paid " tythes to the king of Salem four hundred " years before the law of Moſes was given. The " king of Salem was prieſt alſo of the moſt " high God. Prieſts, you ſee, exiſted in the " world and were held in high eſtimation,

" for kings were prieſts, long before the " impoſtures, as you eſteem them, of the " jewiſh and chriſtian diſpenſation were heard " of. But as this inſtance is taken from a " book which you call " a book of contra- " dictions and lyes"—the Bible; I will give " you another, from a book, to the authority " of which, as it is written by a profane " author, you probably will not object. *Dio-* " *genes Laertius*, in his life of *Solon*, cites " a letter of *Piſiſtratus* to that lawgiver, in " which he ſays—" *I Piſiſtratus*, the tyrant, " am contented with the ſtipends which were " paid to thoſe who reigned before me; the " people of Athens ſet apart a tenth of the " fruits of their land, not for my private " uſe, but to be expended in the public " ſacrifices, and for the general good."

To what is here ſaid of the extreme infatuation into which nations are ſometimes plunged by the judicial procedure of Heaven as one preparatory ſtep to their final overthrow, the following moſt affecting reflections of Mr. Burke come happily in aid.

" The

" The men of property in France confiding
" in a force, which ſeemed to be irreſiſtible,
" becauſe it had never been tried, neglected
" to prepare for a conflict with their enemies
" at their own weapons. They were found in
" ſuch a ſituation as the Mexicans were, when
" they were attacked by the dogs, the cavalry,
" the iron, and the gunpowder of an handful
" of bearded men, whom they did not know
" to exiſt in nature. This is a compariſon
" that ſome I think, have made; and it is juſt.
" In France they had their enemies within
" their houſes. They were even in the boſoms
" of many of them. But they had not ſagacity
" to diſcern their ſavage character. They
" ſeemed tame, and even careſſing. They had
" nothing but *douce humanité* in their mouth.
" They could not bear the puniſhment of the
" mildeſt laws on the greateſt criminals. The
" ſlighteſt ſeverity of juſtice made their fleſh
" creep. The very idea that war exiſted in
" the world, diſturbed their repoſe. Military
" glory was no more, with them, than a ſplen-
" did infamy. Hardly would they hear of
" ſelf-defence, which they reduced within ſuch
" bounds, as to leave it no defence at all. All
" this while they meditated the confiſcations
" and maſſacres we have ſeen. Had any one

" told theſe unfortunate noblemen and gentle-
" men, how, and by whom, the grand fabrick
" of the French monarchy under which they
" flouriſhed would be ſubverted, they would
" not have pitied him as a viſionary, but would
" have turned from him, as what they call a
" mauvais plaiſant. Yet we have ſeen what
" has happened. The perſons who have ſuf-
" fered from the cannibal philoſophy of
" France, are ſo like the Duke of Bedford,
" that nothing but his Grace's probably not
" ſpeaking quite ſo good French, could enable
" us to find out any difference. A great many
" of them had as pompous titles as he, and
" were of ſuch as illuſtrious a race; ſome few
" of them had fortunes as ample; ſeveral of
" them, without meaning the leaſt diſparage-
" ment to the Duke of Bedford, were as wiſe,
" and as virtuous, and as valiant, and as well
" educated, and as compleat in all the linea-
" ments of men of honour as he is: and to all
" this they had added the powerful outguard
" of a military profeſſion, which, in it's na-
" ture, renders men ſomewhat more cautious
" than thoſe, who have nothing to attend to
" but the lazy enjoyment of undiſturbed poſ-
" ſeſſions. But ſecurity was their ruin. They
" are daſhed to pieces in the ſtorm, and our
" ſhores

" ſhores are covered with the wrecks. If they " had been aware that ſuch a thing might " happen, ſuch a thing never could have hap- " pened."

FINIS.

## ERRATA.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Page | 17 | line 1 | for *Spirits*, read Spirit. |
| | 36 | 23 | for *lament*, read bewailing alſo. |
| | 74 | 15 | for *impreſſives*, read impreſſive. |
| | 160 | 13 | for *muſt*, read muſt be. |
| | 178 | 25 | for *fafe*, read ſafe. |
| | 219 | 25 | for *attitude*, read altitude. |
| | 247 | 22 | for *criminality*, read criminalty. |
| | 252 | 15 | for *tumultous*, read tumultuous. |
| | 334 | 21 | for *public action*, read publication. |

" shores are covered with the wrecks. If they
" had been aware that such a thing might
" happen, such a thing never could have hap-
" pened."

F I N I S.

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ERRATA.

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